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An Historical Relation of Ceylon

together with

Somewhat Concerning Severall Remarkeable Passages of my Life

By

ROBERT KNOX

GLASGOW
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See Knox *es Aspect here by* White *design'd.* | *Like them at last by Grace he Freedom Gaind.*
Peruse his Book; thou'lt better see his Mind. | *Parting for Spoils they Ægypts Iewels took.*
Captive, like Iacob's *Offspring, long detaind:* | *He* Ceylons *left yet strange they're in his Book.*
R:H. 30 Dec. 1695.

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An Historical Relation

of

CEYLON

together

With somewhat concerning Severall Remarkeable passages of my life that hath hapned since my Deliverance out of my Captivity

By

ROBERT KNOX

A Captive there near Twenty Years

Glasgow

James MacLehose and Sons

Publishers to the University

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

VERY little was known of Robert Knox's early life until the discovery last year in the Bodleian Library of a copy of his 'Historical Relation of Ceylon,' containing his autobiographical notes and additional manuscript. This discovery was due to the untiring research of the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.

It has been generally assumed that Robert Knox was probably of Scottish extraction, but he tells us in his 'Notes' that his grandfather was born in 1581, at Nacton in Suffolk. His father also was born at Nacton and baptised there on the 15th of March, 1606.[1]

Robert Knox, the author of the 'Historical Relation of Ceylon,' was born on Tower Hill, February the 8th, 1641; he was the son of Robert Knox, a sea captain who traded chiefly in the Mediterranean. His mother was Abigail Bonnell, and he had a sister and a brother—Abigail, born about 1639, and James, about 1647-8. Knox's account of his early days may best be given in his own words; he says—'In the time of my Childhood I was Cheiefely brought up under the education of my Mother, my

[1] When we recollect that the Knox family intermarried with the Bonnells or Bonneels, and the Van Strips or Strypes who were Dutch, it is highly probable that the Knoxes were also of Dutch extraction. The name in Scandinavian is common, and means 'bony.' We have the root in English in the word 'knuckle.'

Father generally being at Sea, a Commander of a ship that traded in the Medeteranian Seas. She was a woman of extraordinary Piety; God was in all her thoughts as appeered by her frequent discourses, & Godly exhortations to us her Children to teach us the knowledge of God, & to love, feare & serve him in our youths: it was alwayes her practice, while she with my Sister ware Kniting or Sowing, to set mee to read by them in the Bible or some other Godly booke, alwayes earnestly exhorting us to the feare of God & not at noe time to omitt priviatt Morning & evening prayers for which use she gave mee the Pracktise of Piety & was in my pocket when taken thare. I may say by Gods Blessing one my Mothers frequent Godly exhortations God spake to my Consiance in my Childhood.'

He notes 'when I was grown big enough I was sent to a bording schoole at Rohamton to Dr. James fleetwood (my father then dwelling at Wimbleton in Surry) who since was Bishop of Worcester. An unhappie accident hapned by my hand, when I was aboute 9 years of age, one Christmasse Eve, one of my fathers servants had bin a shooting small birds in the feild & came whome & set up his gun against the house wall, Charged but not primed, for all his powder was spent, which was the Cause he came whome for more: whilds he was gone in to fill his horne with powder, I tooke up the Gun & presented it at the tame pegeons that sat one a low backe house. I understood to cocke the Gun: My Brother standing by me one the ground, in the intremm the maid came to fetch in my brother, & tooke him up in her armes, he being then aboute 2 or 3 years old & the gun longe & heavie that I could not well hold it up, it went of & hit my brother right in his left eye. He was not then above

6 yards from the muzell of the gun, all the shot, except very few, fell directly into his eye, at which the same Servant was sent imediately to London to advise my father of what had hapned, who that day came whome with a Surgion, who by Gods blessing cured my Brother with only the losse of the eye, that he lived to see me after my Captivity. When I was aboute 14 years of Age, my father had built him a new ship (the same I was taken in) & my inclination was strongly bent for the Seas, but my father much avarce to make me a Seaman, it hapned some Sea Capts coming to see him, amounge other discourse, I standing by, asked my father if I was not to goe with him to Sea. Noe, saith my father, I intend my Sonn shall be a tradsman, they put the question to me, I answered, to goe to Sea was my whole desire, at which they soone turned my father, saying this new ship, when you have done goeing to sea, will be as good as a plentifull estate to your Sonn & it is pitty to crosse his good inclination, since commondly younge men doe best in that Calling they have most mind to be in.'

Accordingly on the 7th of December, 1655, he sailed from the Downs on the 'Ann,' bound for Fort St. George and Bengal. He returned safely to London in July, 1657. During this voyage Robert Knox lost his mother, who died in 1656 and was buried at Wimbledon.

At this time, as in his own words, 'the old East india Company ware suncke & next to nothing,' the 'Ann' was a free ship, and without delay Captain Knox fitted her for a second East India voyage, but before they could get to sea Cromwell had brought in his Navigation Act, and the 'Ann' was forced into the hands of the new East India Company. The copy of the Charter Party by which this arrangement was made is as follows:—

xiii th of November 1657.

The Committee having deferred their resolution concerning the *Anne* Frigott her termes of Enterteynment untill this tyme ; Capt Knox Maister of her presented himselfe to the Committee, and although his Demaunds touchinge the said ship (which hee made at the last Meeting) were too high, yet hee now declared, that his Owners are willing to cast themselves upon the Committee, to give them what they shall thinke fitt. Whereupon they Agreed that the ship *Anne*, burthen 230 tunns or thereabouts, should be at Gravesend by the 15th of December next, ready to saile thence for ye Coast & Bay[1] with 20 gunns and 48 men. and to have 300 lb ymprest[2] 20lb in leiw or primage & Average ; 18lb per tunn for what course Goods shee shall bring home, and 22lb per tunn for Fine : And if shee shall not be dispeeded[3] thence for England by the 10th of January come twelve moneths, it shalbe at ye liberty of the Company to keep her upon demorage 12 moneths after the said 10th of January, or soe long tyme thereof as they shall thinke fitt, soe it be not lesse then 4 moneths of the said 12 moneths : and shee is to have 6lbs. 10s. per diem for soe long tyme as shee shall be employed upon demorage as aforesaid by the Company after the said 10th of January untill she shalbe dispeeded for England : And that she shalbe dispeeded for England by the 10th of January come two yeere at the furthest : Which being made known to the Captaine, hee consented thereunto, and promised to subscribe theis conditions on behalfe of himselfe and the rest of the Owners.

It was now thought fitt . . .

That the ship *Anne* should goe for the Coast and Bay, and if shee be not dispeeded for England by the 10th of January come 12 moneths, shee shall then or at any tyme, at ye pleasure of the Company, Voyage for Persia.

xixth of December 1657

It was now Ordered that the *Anne* should carry out 13,000 lb Stocke upon her ; 5,000 lb whereof being to be left at the Coast or Bay ; the other 8,000 lb for her Carga to Persia.

The 'Ann' sailed, 21st January, 1658, on 'that fatall voiage in which,' says Knox, 'I lost my father & my-

[1] The Coromandel Coast and Bay of Bengal. [2] Advance. [3] Despatched.

'The Englishman's Tree,' Cottiar, under which Knox and his companions were captured in 1660

selfe & the prime of my time for buisnesse & preferment for 23 years tell Anno 1680.' The date has been uniformly read by previous writers according to the O.S. calendar as 1657, the calendar year then beginning on 25th March. This mistake has been repeated in the inscription on the stone inset by Mr. Nevill, C.C.S., into the historic tamarind tree under which Knox was captured at Cottiar.

The 'Ann's' first destination after arriving in India was Gumroone.[1] The elder Knox appears to have fallen foul of the Company, and no less than three protests were lodged against him. From Gumroone he returned to Surat, the port of which was then known as 'Swalley Marine,' a possible transliteration of 'Swahili,' a port.

He was quite right to refuse to go to Bantam, which was then being blockaded by the Dutch. It seems probable that he did go to Achin in Sumatra. In any case he was at Masulipatam[2] on the 19th November, 1659, when the 'Ann' was dismasted in the cyclone.

Southern India is a treeless country and to get a new mast, the 'Ann' had to go to Cottiar, where the father and son and sixteen of the crew were held in bondage, and where the father died in 1661 at the age of fifty-five.

There was no imprudence to account for their falling into the hands of the Sinhalese, for in 1648 John Burford had stayed many days, finding a Christian town and travelling as much as thirty miles inward.

The causes of their detention were :

(i) a quaint whim of King Rajah Singho to make a sort of menagerie of European captives ;

(ii) the jealousy of the Dutch at the possibility of English intervention ;

[1] Bandarabas in the Persian Gulf. [2] Matlipatan.

(iii) the disinclination of the captives themselves to make a determined effort to escape.

They were evidently in a state of abject terror of the tyrant who held them in bondage, but it is also highly probable that most of them had fallen into a lotus-eating phase, and found Ceylon a sailors' paradise or Fiddler's Green after the hard life of a Cromwellian foc'sle.

After their captivity the crew of the 'Ann' seemed to think that they were neglected by the Company. As a matter of fact much pains and trouble were taken, and considerable money spent in their behalf.

An Accot of the Losse & Damage by sending a Vessel from Fort St George to Zeilon to Redeeme ye English Captives on sd Island wch Vessell was Impeeded & brought back by a Dutch Shipp, who mett her within six Leagues of her Port. As per Protestes etc. appeare.

.....6 Feb. 1664.

	Pa	Fa	Ca
Paid for a Boate being purposely bought to redeeme the English Captives etc. -	100.	-	-
Paid for a Cable for Ditto Boate wth 15 Mds. Roapes for ye use of ye premencōned Boate - - - - -	17.	30	-
Laid out by Thomas Dyas his accot for Laskars Wages etc. Charges in said Boate - - - - - -	70.	-	-
For a Persian Horse sent to ye King of Candie, but ye Dutch Stopping ye Vessell he remayning so long aboard yt ever since hath bin diseased & is now dead - - - - -	150.	-	-
	Pa. 337.	30.	-
which at 10/- per Pa, the Principall losse is - -	lb. Sterl.168	s. 19.	-

Knox and his four 'compleat batchelors' of Legundenya, two of whom fell from grace, saved themselves from espionage by refusing to contract alliances with native women. When, at last, he and Stephen Rutland did make a serious attempt to escape, they had little difficulty in effecting their purpose. Others, also, got away from time to time, and Hubbard, who did not reach England until 1706, had a unique record of returning home at last after practically fifty years' absence in captivity.

The 'Ann'

'that fatal and perfidious bark
Built in th' eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark,'

as Milton sang at this time, continued a luckless career, and the letter book of the East India Company quaintly tells her end:

Wee are glad you approve of ye sale of ye *ANNE* wch after much Cost and expence in Voyadgeing to Arracan to have made her a firme & serviceable shipp, she came over in February last unfitted, and laid her Ribbs at Narzapore sands occasioned by ye indiscretion of those that went upon her, and though wee know your Losse hath bin much, yet ours much greater.

The last pitiable letter of Vassall and March rings down the curtain as far as written history goes on the English captives in the hands of Rajah Singho.

To the Right Honble President
of the English Nation of Madrass.

Candy ye 7th March 1690

Right Honble Sr,

Wee thank God and allso Yor Honour for your remembering us after soe many years; Yor Honour's Letter by this More ye 26 August 1689: wee have seen but feare he can

doe but little good as to ye ; procuring our liberty for this pretends not to deliver us to any but our owne nation but if your Honour would send a shipp to some port of this Island to demand us hapes might obtaine our libertyes ; here are yett liveing Vizt : William Vassall, Thomas March, and Richard Gelfe, of ye 'Persia Merchants' Company, John Berry, William Huband, and George Smith of 'Annes' Company, Abraham Grace, David Michell, and David Branch of the 'Herberts' Company, Robert Munda, and Henry Dod, of the 'Rochesters' Company allso 2 Cofferyes the English all a ll : Wee are in a very missarable condition, God of his mercy looke upone us, and Inable us to beare what he shall please to lay upone us with patience, it is a very daingerous thing to write ; for if it should be known wee should suffer very severely ; Wee beseech yor: Honour to pardon our undecent writeing, as to our want of necessaryes if yor: Honrs Charity pleas to send us any releife by this Conveyance as allso what news of late Years (for here wee can here nothing of truth) wee should bee very glad being in very great necessitye and sadness, so praying to ye Allmighty God to Bless Yor: Honour in all your affaires. Wee commit Yor: Honour to his holy protection and Remaine

Your Honrs Most Humble Servants

William Vassall
Thomas March.

Rt Honble Sr:

I left at my comeing out of England my Father four brothers and A Sister liveing in a very prosperous condition (and ?) should bee very glad to hear if any of them be liveing for ye old saying is trew Tempora Mutantur etc. Nos Mutamur abillis but they have I suppose given me our for Dead.

(Yor:) Honrs Most humble Servant

Do: William Vassall.

Knox's autobiography, now printed for the first time, tells us pretty fully of his after life. Some difficulty appears to have arisen, after his return, between himself and his family to which he alludes. It is quite probable

that twenty years deferred interest might have mounted up to a sum which his sister could not possibly pay, and Knox was pretty certain to claim to the uttermost farthing. This is, however, mere supposition.

That he should have deliberately gone kidnapping slaves, after his own captivity on which he harps so much, is a curious commentary on how the Puritans of his time wrested Scripture to suit their own ends.

The curse of Ham was a very real thing from the days of stout Sir John Hawkins, who started the trade, to the time of Zachary Macaulay. The slave traders kept the law to the letter, for there was no enslavement of the inhabitants of India or of China, and their simple ethnology failed to recognise that the Malagasy is not Negro but Malay.

Knox's little incursion into piracy, and his constant bickering and squabbling with crews and super-cargoes, merchants and directors, make somewhat unpleasant reading. Still, misogynist and grumbler, with a command of the Bible which he had incorporated into his system, he was charitable, as was the way with the seafaring men of those days.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate for our general impression of his veracity that he should have magnified the tonnage and gunnage of the 'Tonquin Merchant.'

It may be as well to note that in 1683, on his return from his first voyage in the 'Tonquin Merchant,' Knox had an hour's audience of Charles II. What a loss to posterity it is that Samuel Pepys has not preserved for us the details of this interview. We can imagine that there were certain Sinhalese manners and customs that would have appealed to the Merry Monarch.

Knox's relative, Mrs. Bonnell, seems to have made some effort to entrap him into perhaps a direr bondage than his captivity in 'Zeylon.' She writes to Strype on March 31st, 1702, saying:

Indeed Capt Knoxes Rudeness in his letter did not at all move my resentment. I rather pittied his ill manners and unjust aspersion of me, but I have suffered too much to let such trifles ruffle me, but I thought it was necessary to let him know huffing at abbusife treatment should not provoke my charity, and indeed I had given it so largely to that poor cupple in his absence that I could not continue an addition to what was promast without suffering for it.

On October 3rd of the same year she writes:

I thank you for your account of Capt Knox. I assure yu I am very glad to here of his wellfear, for such trifles as his rude letter never sticks with me. If he be naturally rude and unpolished it would be unreasonable in me to expect that he should change his nature on my account.

At last, at the age of nearly eighty, Knox died on 19th June, 1720, leaving behind him considerable substance as shown in his will. This document reads as follows:

This is the last Will and testament of mr Robt Knox of London Mariner, and Son or Robt Knox who dyed on Ceylon in ye East Indies.

Forasmuch as Death is most Certaine: and ye time place and manner most uncertaine, therefore now in ye time of my health I Robt Knox have wrote this all with my owne hand, which is to stand and be in full force after my Death, for my last Will and Testament, and I doe hereby make null and void and Revoke all former Wills whatsoever, tho I know of none: And whatsoever I am possessed of is given me by Gods Blessing on my hazardous and painfull indeavours, I doe hereby Cut of and Bar all Claimes and Pretentions whatsoever as Heires at: or by Law to my estate,

and althought this may not be worded according to ye usuall forme in Law, yet Nevertheless it is my true intent and meaning that this is and shall be my last Will and Testament, and let all Concerned Remember this fearfull Malediction to those who act otherwise on any pretence Whatsoevere viz. Exod. 22.22 ver: and Deut. 10 & 18:27: Chap 17:19:ver. And I doe hereby ordaine and appoint Edward Lascelles my owne Sisters Son to be my Sole Executor and he ye said Edward Lascelles, having paid and performed all ye Leguces etc hereafter mentioned, all ye rest and remainder of my estate is and shall be his owne, and for his owne use, without further or other account for ye same as given him by this my Will and not otherwise.

First. I doe hereby give to my Niece Rebecka Ward Grand Daughter to my father viz: My Silver bowl or montith and ye large Silver Salver; and Silver Chocolatt pott: and my repeating Clock in an ebony frame, and my Red Silk flowred quilt, and my picture ingraven on a Copper plate in Remembrance of me; more my affections would have given her; had her circumstances required it.

Secondly I doe hereby give to Abigail Lessingham now Smith, Grand daughter to my owne Sister, my two Silver Sconces and more three hundred pounds in money to be paid to her in 30 dayes after my death.

Thirdly I doe here by give to Edward Lascelles my Executor all my bookes and papers, boath written and printed (Ceylon Excepted) with all Bonds; Bills or notes for money which is all my estate out of which he is pay Leguces. And what remaines after Leguces etc are paid is for himselfe and for his owne use.

Fourthly I doe here by give to Knox Ward who beareth my Name viz: My Booke of Ceylon with Maniscripts of my owne Life—and my Ceylone Knife, and a picture on board with 3 Ships, And 2 Silver hilted Swords, And 2 paire of Pistols, and 2 Silver headed Caines, and 4 ebony Chaires, with 4 blew velvet Cushons and my Ceder Chists of Draws, ye ceder I brought from Berbados, and ye ebony I

Cut my Selfe at ye Iland of Maurushus and my Steele Seale with ye Knoxes Coate of Armes[1] I had from Scotland, and my Sea beadstead with a flocke bed and 2 feather pillows, and a bolster and a small painted quilt, and a Carpet and also a Water pott with a Silver Cover and my Ring Dyall and Sea-quadron, and my Load Stone and Anchor which was ye Honble Robert Boyles and after Dr Rob. Hooke and my Commition under ye great Seale of England, all to keepe in Remembrance of me.

Note all ye rest of my goods Stuff and lumber is hereafter given to Susanna Bartlett Sener or her children if dead.

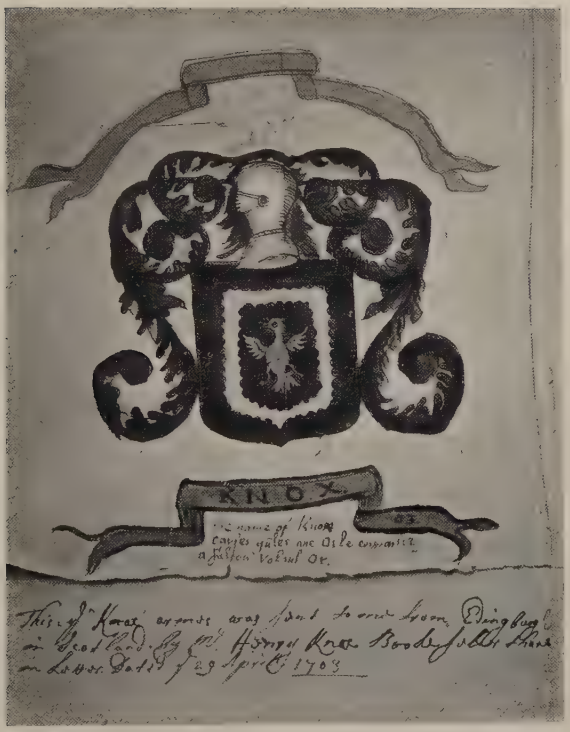
fiftly I doe hereby give to Hester Harrison Niece to Cousen John Strype who is a poore indigent Widow twenty pounds to be paid to her Selfe within 30 dayes after my Death.

Sixtly I doe hereby give and bequeath to ye 4 children of Susanna Bartlett Sen, viz. to Elizabeth Bartlett two hundred pounds, To Susanna Bartlett Jun, two hundred pounds, To Frances Bartlett two hundred pounds, To Beniamen Bartlett one hundred pound to be paid to themselves in lawfull mony of England within 30 dayes after my Death.

Beniamen being beyound the Seas, his one hundred pound to be paid to his order when he shall either come or send to demand ye same.

Seventhly I doe hereby give and bequeath to Susanna Bartlett Senr two hundred pounds to be paid to her Selfe within 30 dayes after my Death in lawfull mony of England and I doe also give to her Susanna Bartlett Sen. all the remainder of my goods or household stuff, as mentioned in ye 4 article of this my Will (and not before given) for her owne use without further or other account for ye same, By goods I meane all my Cloath, boath lining and Woolling, Silke and

[1] The arms mentioned by Knox are: Gu. an eagle displayed or, with an orle engrayled counter-engrayled argent. Crest—an eagle head couped between the wings or.



The Knox Coat of Arms

Beding—China Ware and ye remainder of my plate etc. lumber of any sort whatsoever and I charge you Ed: Lascelles my Sole Executor before God to be punctuall in performing all this that I have given, lest ye cryes of the Widdow and fatherlesse come up to heaven against you, and your lott be a curse instead of a blessing and Remember (Luke 4 & 26) that thought there were many Widows in Israell yet to none of them was Elias sent but to Zarephath, a City of Sidon to a woman yt was a Widow.

Eightly I doe appoint one hundred pounds for my finerall Charges Rings etc. Strictly forbidding all vaine gaudy Cerimonies, and if any be left give it to ye Poore without delay:

I find it natural to desire to be buried by parents by my father it cannot be; who was Buried by my hands on the Iland of Ceylone in ye East Indies—but my Mother was buried at Wimbleton, in ye County of Surry in ye Chancell of ye Church in Anno 1655 or 1656. If it Could be my desire is to be buried there by her, it being ye towne where I was brought up when a Boy and where God often Spoake to my Conscience in my Mineority, and I doe hereby order my Executor Edward Lascelles to give to ye poore where my Corps are buried fifty pounds without delay and to be disposed of with his Advice and Concent.

Note this my Will all wrote with my owne hand and it is my full intent yt it should stand and remaine in full force and vertue for my last Will and testament and that all ye remainder of my Estate (After discharged) are and shall be for the use of Edward Lascelles my Sole Executor and Sisters Son.

Written in London this thirtieth day of November Anno 1711 in witneth whereof I signe with my owne hand and have fixed hereunto my owne Seale

30 Nov. 1711.

Robt Knox.

Perhaps the only note that is necessary with regard to this document is that the Ceylon Knife which he leaves to his nephew Knox Ward, Clarencieux Herald, was not the knife which is alluded to in the narrative of his escape, but is one which was given to him by his Dutch fellow captive, whom he met at Cochin in after years, he also having escaped. It was then that Knox wrote the letter to his surviving fellow captives which is given in his autobiography.

Knox's literary friends were numerous and influential. Sir Christopher Wren, who gave his *imprimatur*, was President of the Royal Society at the time of his publication. Robert Hooke was his life-long friend, and wrote the 'verses' which adorn Knox's portrait. Hooke was linguist and inventor; he died, as Knox quaintly says, a 'mizer,' with £30,000 in his strong-box in cash.

Daniel Defoe knew Knox. He quotes from him *in extenso* in *Captain Singleton*, and the immortal Quaker who contrived to serve both God and Mammon in that work, smacks somewhat strongly of Knox himself. It is worth noting that *Robinson Crusoe* was published but a few months before Knox's death, and its introspective and religious passages strongly resemble Knox's account of his own religious difficulties in captivity.

'An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies,' on which Knox's literary fame has rested until now, was written on his passage home from Ceylon after his escape and was printed by 'Richard Chiswell, Printer to the Royal Society, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1681.' It was published with the approval of the Royal Society and of the East India Company, and Knox tells us that 'it hath found such

acceptance of this present generation that all the bookes that were printed are bought up & many more would have bin bought if were to be had & also that it hath bin translated into Dutch & french.' In another place he notes, as a reason for not reprinting, that when he sold the 'Coppie of this Booke to Mr. Rich. Chiswell, Senr., I gave him my Bond that neither my selfe nor any for me should ever reprint the same.'

The Autobiography is bound up with a copy of the 'Historical Relation' in the Bodleian Library. This copy bears the signature of Knox Ward, Clarencieux King of Arms, who was Knox's nephew and bequeathed the volume to the Bodleian. It is contained in 127 folio pages, and there are also at the beginning of the volume six pages of manuscript, continued over on to the back of the printed fly-leaf. This is signed June 19th, 1696.

In making this transcription the manuscript has been exactly followed, except that the contractions 'yt' for 'that,' 'ye' for 'the,' 'wth' for 'with,' and 'wch' for 'which' have been extended: the letters i, j, u, and ff for F have been used according to modern custom, and the punctuation, which in the manuscript is very irregular and sometimes altogether wanting, has been slightly modified.

References to the folios of the original manuscript, and side notes, have been inserted in the margin, and where the numbering of the pages has been incorrectly made in the manuscript, both the incorrect and correct numberings are given.

To the original illustrations in the 'Historical Relation' there have been added the portrait of Knox, from the engraving inserted in the volume in the Bodleian, a facsimile specimen of Knox's writing and signature from

the Autobiography, the Knox coat of arms, and a view of the tree, which is still standing at Cottiar, under which Knox and his companions were captured. I am indebted to Mr. H. W. Cave for permission to use this illustration, the original photograph having been taken by Captain John Stewart of the Black Watch.

I have to thank the Hon. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., and Mr. H. L. Codrington, C.C.S., for much invaluable help in the preparation of this edition, and it is a matter of deep regret to me that Mr. Donald Ferguson is not alive to witness the issue for the first time of the autobiography of Knox. I have also to thank his widow for a copy of Mr. Ferguson's *Biography of Knox*, with many valuable MS. notes. To Mr. Arthur Hayward I am indebted for much secretarial assistance.

JAMES RYAN.

The Itinerary of Knox's Flight as shown in his Map.

Name as spelled by Knox.	Modern Sinhalese equivalent.	District.
Elledat	Eladetta	Udunuwara
[2](Hill Bocawl)	Bokawala	Harispattu
Ecckrowat	Ikiriwatta	Madure Korale, 7 K.
(Dedero weya)	(Deduru Oya)	
Paunegum	Pannagama	do.
Rombadagol	Rambodagalla	do.
[1] Bondercoosewatt	Koswatta	Ihala Visideka K.
[1] Nicovarr (gravet)	Nikavehera	Ihala Otota K.
Eredenne	Irideniya (?)	Parawaha K. N.C.P.
Dempitigall	Dempitigala	do.
[1] Porooagh	Parawaha (gama)	do.
Nicotticum	Nikatagama	Negampaha N.C.P.
Honopoologom	Hunupolagama	do.
(Caula weya)	(Kala Oya)	
Duelwaya	(?) Eliya Diwulwewa	Eppawala K. N.C.P.
Conn-vava	Konwewa	(?)
[1] Coluela	Kaluvila	Nuwaragama K. N.C.P.
[1] (Malwat weya)	(Mulwatu Oya)	
[1] (Anurodgburro)	(Anuradhapura)	

[1] The places thus marked are mentioned by Knox in the account of his escape.

[2] This place is mentioned in his account, but not shown on the map.

An Historical Relation of Ceylon

By ROBERT KNOX

This Booke was wrote by mee Robert Knox (the sonn of Robert Knox who died one the Iland of Zelone) when I was aboute 39 years of Age. I was taken prisoner one Zelone, 4th Aprill, 1660. I was borne one Tower hill in London, 8th Feb: 1641. My Age when taken was 19 years: 1 Month & 27 dayes. Continewed prisoner thare 19 years 6 month 14 dayes So that I was a prisoner thare 4 Month & 17 dayes longer then I had lived in the world before, & one the 18 October 1679 God set mee free from that Captivity, being then with the Hollanders at Arepa fort to whome be all Glory & prayse.

Robert Knox, 1696 in London.

In my passage to England from Bantam, in Anno 1679 I wrote this Booke, 3 Reasons Induced mee so to doe: first to Record Gods great mercies in so plentifully 1
sustaining me in the land of myne enimies in despite of those who boath invied & hated mee & sent to mee thare his most sacred Word the wholy Bible in my owne native language even whare the name of the true God is not known, & after a Detainement of 19 yeares 6 months & 14 dayes his providence so disposed of & directed mee to escape thence with the first, & Conducted me safe whome to my Native Country, all the perticulars thareof ought to be remembred by me to my lives end, for he hath fulfilled to me his promise; Deute 30 Chap, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 verses which I often called to mind in that land whare I was a Stranger to my great Comfort & Consolation, lest time should ware them out of my mind. Secondly: 2
that after my death if had died by the way my Relations might know what became of my Father (& how & after

what manner the Almighty had dealt with mee which I could not but thinke they would be glad to be informed of.

3 Thirdly to excercise my hand to wright for in all the time of my Captivity, I had neither pen Inke nor paper & now as a man new borne I came into the world, so made it part of my buisnesse to learne to write & for the afforesaid reasons, thought this would be a fitt subject to imploy my pen one, but then intended it noe further.

After I came to London the East india Company haveing heard I had bin dilligent in writing papers in my passage desired a sight of what I had wrote (if it ware not a secret) so I presented my papers to theire view: they being of some bulke could not presently peruse them but bad me leave them tel next Court day & S^r^ Josiah Child said he would carry them whome with him to peruse; next Court day he delivered them to mee againe saying in his opinion they might well be printed, the papers Containing many new & Strainge Stories. The Court of Committies advised mee the same then I asked theire leave to dedicate the booke to themselves which they readily granted, & by the assistance of my Cousen John Strype a Minister who Composed it into heads & Chapters for my papers ware promiscuous & out of forme with severall inlargements one such heads as I had but touched briefely which then my memory was fit to doe haveing the very Idea or representation of what I wrote so perfectly in my mind, by my longe detainement & Conversation thare as if they had bin visible to my sight & so it came to the booke you see.

And since I have severall times Considerately read over the same, & doe find nothing to disagree from the very truth to my Certaine knowledge, but onely note in page (46) whare in I write that the old King poysond his onely sonn, but since at my being at the City of Batavia I am certainely informed that at the old Kings Death that very sonn succeeded his father, & reigneth King in his stead, & hath setled a peace with the Hollanders, & releaced all

Captives of theire nation that ware in his dominions, now I see that the old Kinge Raja-Singah by his craft hath Imposed one all the people of his Country, whare I thinke not one doubted of the truth of his death, more then my selfe, but when I wrote that he poysoned his son it was so generally beleeved & in truth I beleeve then nobody (unlesse those that attended his person) knew better. I thinke I neede not doubte of any Readers pardon that I have incerted a lye, for if they themselves had bin upon the place they might as safely have bin deceaved as my selfe, but I must Confesse it is some Injury to my old Master Raja Singah whose Tyrany without this Act was not inferiour to any, yet my offence ought to be pardoned since he himselfe was the onely cause that made all people thare beleeve it.

This that I have said is the true Cause how my Scribled papers came to be published in print which at the wrighting heere of I never thought worthy troubling the world with, I haveing since the Death of my father (whome I buried with my owne hands) had such Ample experience of Gods wonderfull & peculiar providence over mee ought not to let them passe unregarded & from thence I make this Inference viz[t] that obedience to Parence is not without reward even in this life. In fo: 119 my father stricketly charged me as I would answer before Almighty God & one his Blessing when I was sent one board, to returne one shore to him againe Althought at that time when I went one board thare was but little apperence of any other Condition then slavery yet I blesse God the Scence of that Great Charge, my Fathers Blessing, so animated my heart that I set it higher then life without it, & althought I continewed in a longe Captivity yet I was Compased aboute with so many peculiar Blessings & such Composuer of mind that I never found cause to repent of my obedience to my father, although I suffered Captivity thareby. I further note that my escape (which was carried one in a Chaine of providences) followed the prediction of my dying father.

And when I came whome to my Native Country of England I was Destitute both of mony & friends finding but very little that my father left mee : & my abillity for any Imployment lesse, then did he set the heart of S^r^ Josiah Child a man great in power, to doe mee good & since God hath strangely preserved mee, & blessed mee. From hence I further observe it was one of my fathers Charges to me one his deathbead to take care of my Brother & Sister, both which I found living at my returne to England after 23 years absence, but how could I performe this Charge of my Dying father, when they boath ware in a fitter Capassity to take care of mee who had nothing to helpe my selfe, yet his providence straingely enabled mee to performe this Charge for my portion of patrimony was devided betweene my Brother and Sister : the latter paid mee, but my Brother told me he was not able to doe it, but God made mee able notwithstanding my poverty franckely to remitt it to him. My Brother & Sister are boath Dead & have noe further neede : the Blessing of God to mee is such that now it is in the power of my hand to be helpfull my fathers Grand-Children.

Those passages that I have writen Concerning Gods dealings with mee seemes to mee so remarkeable that I cannot omitt to leave them upon Record to my Relations & friends (mistake mee not) I looke not one those great Blessings from God to come as a reward or Meritt one my obedience, but from the faithfullnesse of God in fully performing his promise, made Exodus 20 & verse 12 as he did the other promise Deut: 30 & verse 1 to 5, which was an introduction to the other.

Neither did the speciall Care of Gods providence over me Commence at & after my deliverance, but was signally manifested to mee During the whole time of my Captivity, as by this Booke doth appeare for I wanted nothing nessessary but a deliverance, which he also gave me in his dew time.

I have often thought of David who accounted it a great

mercie that his enimies did not triumph over him : What a mercie did I injoy when my enemies ware my Servants which leadeth mee to apply his words to my selfe Psal: 107, verse 1, 2, 3. 'O give thankes to the Lord for he is good for his mercie endureth for ever. Let the Redeemed of the Lord say so whome he hath redeemed from the hand of the Enemy, & gathered them out of the lands, from the East & from the West & from the North & from the South,' & from these words I put to my selfe two questions, first, wheather I am one of those Redeemed ones ; if not, who they are. Secondly, wheather it was not onely God that Redeemed mee, or any other meanes or power.

In answer to the first : Surely my Soule thou art the Man in expresse words of the Psalme 'Redeemed from the hand of the Enemy : & gathered from a strange land' this hath thou seene fulled upon thy selfe, so that if thou be not a Redeemed one thare never was such a one upon earth.

Secondly. I saw all externall meanes faile, as the Intersession of the Dutch & English Nations in that behalfe that I might see the Clearer that my deliverance sprange onely from God, as in Proverbs 16, Chapt., 1, Verse. 'the preparation of the heart in man & the Answer of the Tongue is from the Lord,' & verse 9 'a mans heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps' : & in Chapt 19 verse 21 'thare are many Devices in a mans heart neverthelesse the Counsel of the Lord that shall stand' : & in Chapt 20, verse 24. 'Mans goeing are of the Lord, how can a man then understand his owne way' & Chapt 21 & 30 verse 'thare is noe wisdome nor Counsell nor understanding against the Lord : & Chapt 16 ver. 33, 'the Lott is Cast into the lap but the whole disposing thareof is of the Lord ;' these texts of Scripture I conte as proofs to my selfe that my Soule may say in thanksgiving it was onely the Lord God that Redeemed mee from all Adversities & this I put upon Record with full proofe to my Soule, as Josuah did to Israell in the like Case that I

may not forgitt my God that in a peculier manner hath redeemed mee & since Continewed his Carefull providence over mee : that now I may Rightly apply Davids words in Psalme 30 & 11 & 12 verses to my selfe, 'Thou hath turned for mee my Morning into Danceing, thou hath put off my sackecloath & girded mee with gladnesse' : 12 to the end 'that my Glory may singe prayse to thee & not be silent, O Lorde my God I will give thankes to thee for ever.' Amen.

Since in this Booke I have given some account of some passages of my life during the dayes of my Captivity, I will heere Add some what Concerning the dayes of my Minority before I was taken Captive one the Iland of Zelone.

In the time of my Childhood I was Cheiefely brought up under the education of my Mother, my Father generally being at Sea, a Commander of a ship that traded in the Medeteranian Seas. She was a woman of extraordinary Piety : God was in all her thoughts, as appeered by her frequent discourses & Godly exhortations to us her Children to teach us the knowledge of God, & to love, feare & serve him in our youths. It was alwayes her practice while she with my Sister ware Kniting or Sowing, to set mee to read by them in the Bible, or some other Godly booke, alwayes earnestly exhorting us to the feare of God & not at noe time to omitt priviatt Morning & evening prayers, for which use she gave mee the Pracktise of Piety, & was in my pocket when taken thare.

I may say by Gods Blessing one my Mothers frequent Godly exhortations God spake to my Consiance in my Childhood for I well remember at the Reading Hebrew 12 & 8 verse 'but if ye be without Chastisement, whareof all are partakers, then are ye Bastards & not sonns' it troubled my mind that I had noe affliction, & lived without want : but his providence since hath remooved the Cause of that Doubte & brought me up in the schoole of Afflictions, & given me seasonable & nessesary stripes,

but so moderately as not to discourage but Correct me, & keepe me from Security, Wantonnesse, Stupidity & Contempt of holy things, & might spoyle all temptations to Ambition, worldlynesse, voluptiousnesse & fleshly lusts that now I can unfaignedly say with David, viz^{t} 'it is good for mee that I have bin afflicted.'

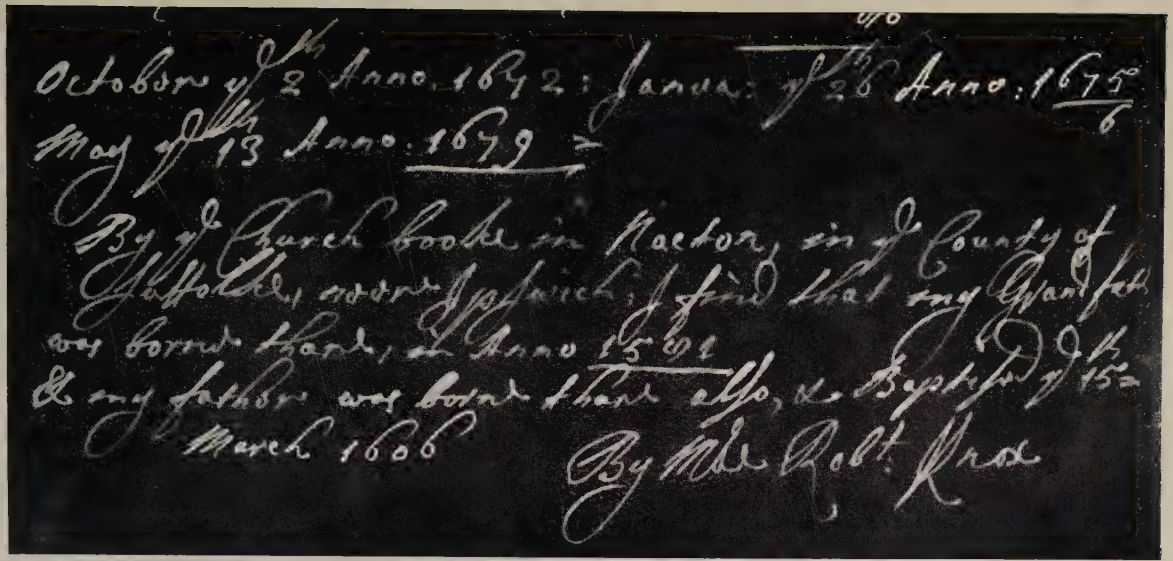
When I was grown big enough I was sent to a bording schoole at Rohamton, to D^{r} James fleetwood (my father then dwelling at Wimbleton, in Surry) who since was Bishop of Worcester. An unhappie accident hapned by my hand, when I was aboute 9 years of age, one Christmasse Eve one of my fathers servants had bin a shooting small birds in the feild, & came whome & set up his gun against the house wall, Charged but not primed, for all his powder was spent, which was the Cause he came whome for more: whilds he was gone in to fill his horne with powder, I tooke up the Gun & presented it at the tame pegeons that sat one a low backe house. I understood to cocke the Gun: My Brother standing by me one the ground in the intremm the maid came to fetch in my brother, & tooke him up in her armes he being then aboute 2 or 3 years old & the gun longe & heavie that I could not well hold it up it went of & hit my brother right in his left eye. He was not then above 6 yards from the muzell of the gun, all the shot except very few fell directly into his eye, at which the same Servant was sent imediately to London to advise my father of what had hapned who that day came whome with a Surgion who by Gods blessing cured my Brother with onely the losse of the eye, that he lived to see me after my Captivity.

When I was aboute 14 years of Age my father had built him a new ship (the same I was taken in) & my inclination was strongly bent for the Seas, but my father much avarce to make me a Seaman it hapned some Sea Capts coming to see him, amounge other discourse, I standing by, asked my father if I was not to goe with him to Sea. Noe, saith my father, I intend my Sonn shall be a tradsman; they put the question to me, I answered to goe

to Sea was my whole desire, at which they soone turned my father saying this new ship, when you have done goeing to sea will be as good as a plentifull estate to your Sonn, & it is pitty to crosse his good inclination since commondly younge men doe best in that Calling they have most mind to be in, & one the 7 Decem[r] 1655 I went with my father from the Dounds bound for the East indies, first to fort St George, & thence to Bengall, & returned whome full laden to London in July Anno 1657.

At this time the old East india Company ware suncke & next to nothing that we ware a free ship. Without delay my father fitted his ship for a Second East India voiage but before we Could gitt out to sea Cromwell had set up this Company, & forbid all others: the ship was then ready fitted for the east indies, therefore faint to lett her to serve the Company & we sailed out of the Downs the 21 Jan: 1657. This was that fatall voiage in which I lost my father & my selfe, & the prime of my time for buisnesse & preferment for 23 years tell Anno 1680, tell God in his mercy visitted mee, for the East india Company in whose Service 29 men ware taken, used noe other meanes (to save Charges I beleeve) then letters, & after my returne whome they gave mee for a gratuety twenty pounds, & ten pounds to Stephen that came with me, which stands as Gratuities upon Record, under our owne hands in the Companies Generall Receipt booke at the East India house in London, 1680.

When God brought me out of my Captivity, I had lesse then when I was in it for I left all behind mee & fled, so that I lived one the Charity of the Hollanders who ware exceedingly bountifull to me & Stephen my Companion although strangers to theire Nation that in truth I beleeve in Cloaths & monie (besides victuals) we had not lesse then fifty pounds starling in valew. The Cloaths they gave mee served me some years after & more they would have done for me but I was too fond of my Native Country & stood in my owne light. This I testifie under my owne hand in London the 19[th] day of June Anno 1696. Rob[t] Knox.


October y^e 2 Anno 1642 : Januar: y^e 26 Anno: 1675
May y^e 13 Anno: 1679 =
By y^e Church booke in Hactor, in y^e County of
Lothian, nottr of Peirich, I find that my Grandfath
was borne thare, in Anno 1591
& my father was borne thare also, ye Baptist y^e 15
March 1606
By Mr Robt Knox

Facsimile of Knox's Handwriting

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

At the end of this Booke I intend to write somewhat Concerning severall remarkeable passages of my life that hath hapned since my deliverance out of my Captivity that they may stand upon Record for my owne Rememberance lest I should forgitt the goodnesse of the Lord.

At the Court of Committees for the East-India Company the 10th of August, 1681.

WE Esteem Captain Knox a Man of Truth and Integrity, and that his Relations and Accounts of the Island of Ceylon (which some of us have lately Perused in Manuscripts) are worthy of Credit, and therefore encouraged him to make the same Publick.

Robert Blackbourne, Secretary.
By Order of the said Court.

August 8. 1681.

Mr. Chiswell,

I Perused Capt. Knox's Description of the Isle of Ceylon, which seems to be Written with great Truth and Integrity; and the Subject being new, containing an Account of a People and Countrey little known to us; I conceive it may give great Satisfaction to the Curious, and may be well worth your Publishing.

Chr. Wren.

AN

Hiſtorical Relation

Of the Iſland

CEYLON,

IN THE

EAST-INDIES:

TOGETHER,

With an ACCOUNT of the Detaining in Captivity the AUTHOR and divers other *Engliſhmen* now Living there, and of the AUTHOR's Miraculous ESCAPE.

Illuſtrated with Figures, and a Map of the ISLAND.

By *ROBERT KNOX*, a Captive there near Twenty Years.

LONDON,

Printed by *Richard Chiſwell*, Printer to the ROYAL SOCIETY, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1681.

To the Right Worshipful The Governor, the Deputy-Governor, and Four and Twenty Committees of the Honorable the East-India Company, Viz.

Sir Josiah Child Baronet, Governor.
Thomas Papilion Esq ; Deputy.

The Right Honorable George Earl of Berkley,
Sir Joseph Ashe Baronet,
Sir Samuel Barnardiston Baronet.
Mr. Christopher Boone,
Mr. Thomas Canham,
Colonel John Clerke,
Mr. John Cudworth,
John Dubois Esquire,
Sir James Edwards Knight, and Alderman,
Richard Hutchinson Esquire,
Mr. Joseph Herne,
Mr. William Hedges.
Sir John Lawrence Knight, and Alderman,
Mr. Nathaniel Letton,
Sir John Moore Knight, and Alderman,
Samuel Moyer Esquire,
Mr. John Morden,
Mr. John Paige,
Edward Rudge Esquire,
Mr. Jeremy Sambrooke,
Mr. William Sedgwick,
Robert Thomson Esquire,
Samuel Thomson Esquire.
James Ward Esquire.

Right Worshipful,

WHat I formerly Presented you in Writing, having in pursuance of your Commands now somewhat dress'd by the help of the Printer and Graver, I a second time humbly tender to you. 'Tis I confess at best too mean a Return for your great Kindness to

me. Yet I hope you will not deny it a favourable Acceptance, since 'tis the whole Return I made from the Indies after Twenty years stay there ; having brought home nothing else but

(who is also wholly at your

Service and Command)

ROBERT KNOX.

London 1st. of August, 1681.

The Preface

Ow much of the present Knowledge of the Parts of the World is owing to late Discoveries, may be judged by comparing the Modern with the Ancient's Accounts thereof; though possibly many such Histories may have been written in former Ages, yet few have scaped the Injury of Time, so as to be handed safe to us. 'Twas many Ages possibly before Writing was known, then known to a few, and made use of by fewer, and fewest employ'd it to this purpose. Add to this, that such as were written, remain'd for the most part Imprison'd in the Cells of some Library or Study, accessible to a small number of Mankind, and regarded by a less, which after perished with the Place or the Decay of their own Substance. This we may judge from the loss of those many Writings mention'd by Pliny, and other of the Ancients. And we had yet found fewer, if the Art of Printing, first Invented about 240 years since, had not secured most that lasted to that time. Since which, that Loss has been repaired by a vast number of new Accessions, which besides the Satisfaction they have given to Curious and Inquisitive Men by increasing their Knowledge, have excited many more to the like Attempts, not only of Making but of Publishing also their Discoveries. But I am not ignorant still; that as Discoveries have been this way preserved, so many others have been lost, to the great Detriment of the Publick. It were very desirable therefore that the Causes of these and other

Defects being known, some Remedies might be found to prevent the like Losses for the future.

The principal Causes I conceive may be these;

First, The want of sufficient Instructions (to Seamen and Travellers,) to shew them what is pertinent and considerable, to be observ'd in their Voyages and Abodes, and how to make their Observations and keep Registers or Accounts of them.

Next, The want of some Publick Incouragement for such as shall perform such Instructions.

Thirdly, The want of fit Persons both to Promote and Disperse such Instructions to Persons fitted to engage, and careful to Collect Returns; and Compose them into Histories; by examining the Persons more at large upon those and other Particulars. And by separating what is pertinent from what is not so, and to be Rejected; who should have also wherewith to gratifie every one according to his Performances.

Fourthly, The want of some easie Way to have all such Printed: First singly, and afterwards divers of them together. It having been found that many small Tracts are lost after Printing, as well as many that are never Printed; upon which account we are much oblig'd to Mr. Haclute and Mr. Purchas, for preserving many such in their Works.

Fifthly, The want of taking care to Collect all such Relations of Voyages and Accounts of Countries as have been Published in other Languages, and Translating them either into English, or (which will be of more general use) into Latin, the learned Language of Europe. There being many such in other Countries hardly ever heard of in England.

The Difficulties of removing which Defects is not so great but that it might easily fall even within the compass of a private Ability to remove, if at least Publick Authority would but Countenance the Design, how much less then would it be if the same would afford also some moderate Encouragement and Reward?

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CANCELLED

The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge, has not been wanting in preparing and dispersing Instructions to this end, and is ready still to promote it, if the Publick would allow a Recompence to the Undertakers. The desirableness and facility of this Undertaking may, I hope, in a short time produce the Expedients also. In the Interim all means should be used, to try what may be obtain'd from the Generosity of such as have had the Opportunities of knowing Foreign Countries.

There are but few who, though they know much, can yet be persuaded they know any thing worth Communicating, and because the things are common and well known to them, are apt to think them so to the rest of Mankind; This Prejudice has done much mischief in this particular as well as in many other, and must be first remov'd. There are others that are conscious enough of their own Knowledge, and yet either for want of Ability to write well, or of use to Compose, or of time to Study and Digest, or out of Modesty and fear to be in Print, or because they think they know not enough to make a Volume, or for not being prompted to, or earnestly solicited for it, neglect to do it; others delay to do it so long till they have forgotten what they intended. Such as these Importunity would prevail upon to disclose their knowledge, if fitting Persons were found to Discourse and ask them Questions, and to Compile the Answers into a History. Of this kind was lately produc'd in High Dutch a History of Greenland, by Dr. Fogelius of Hamborough, from the Information of Frederick Martin, who had made several Voyages to that Place, in the doing of which, he made use of the Instruction given by the Royal Society.

'Tis much to be wondred that we should to this Day want a good History of most of our West-Indian Plantations. Ligon has done well for the Barbadoes, and somewhat has been done for the Summer Islands, Virginia, &c. But how far are all these short even of the knowledge of these and other Places of the West-Indies, which may

be obtain'd from divers knowing Planters now Residing in London? And how easie were it to obtain what is Defective from some Ingenious Persons now Resident upon the Places, if some way were found to gratifie them for their Performances? However till such be found, 'tis to be hoped that the kind Acceptance only the Publick shall give to this present Work, may excite several other Ingenuous, and knowing Men to follow this Generous Example of Captain Knox, who though he could bring away nothing almost upon his Back or in his Purse, did yet Transport the whole Kingdom of Conde Uda in his Head, and by Writing and Publishing this his Knowledge, has freely given it to his Countrey, and to You Reader in particular.

'Twas not I confess without the earnest Solicitations and Endeavours of my self, and some others of his Friends obtain'd from him, but this uneasiness of parting with it was not for want of Generosity and Freedom enough in Communicating whatever he knew or had observed, but from that usual Prejudice of Modesty, and too mean an Opinion of his own Knowledge and Abilities of doing any thing should be worthy the view of the Publick. And had he found leisure to Compose it, he could have filled a much greater Volume with useful and pertinent, as well as unusual and strange Observations. He could have inrich't it with a more particular Description of many of their curious Plants, Fruits, Birds, Fishes, Insects, Minerals, Stones; and told you many more of the Medicinal and other uses of them in Trades and Manufactures. He could have given you a compleat Dictionary of their Language, understanding and speaking it as well as his Mother Tongue. But his Occasions would not permit him to do more at present. Yet the Civil Usage this his First-born meets with among his Countreymen, may 'tis hoped oblige him to gratifie them with further Discoveries and Observations in his future Travels.

To conclude, He has in this History given you a tast of his Observations. In which most Readers, though of

very differing Gusts, may find somewhat very pleasant to their Pallat. The Statesman, Divine, Physitian, Lawyer, Merchant, Mechanick, Husbandman, may select something for their Entertainment. The Philosopher and Historian much more. I believe at least all that love Truth will be pleas'd; for from that little Conversation I had with him I conceive him to be no ways prejudiced or byassed by Interest, affection, or hatred, fear or hopes, or the vain-glory of telling Strange Things, so as to make him swarve from the truth of Matter of Fact: And for his opportunity of being informed, any one may satisfie himself when he understands his almost 20 years Abode and Converse among them. His Skill in the Language and Customs of the People, his way of Employment in Travelling and Trading over all Parts of the Kingdom; add to this his Breeding till 19 years of Age under his Father a Captain for the East-India Company, and his own Natural and acquired parts; but above all his good Reputation, which may be judged from the Employment That Worshipful Company have now freely bestowed upon him, having made him Commander of the Tarquin Merchant, and intrusted him to undertake a Voyage to Tarquin.

Read therefore the Book it self, and you will find your self taken Captive indeed, but used more kindly by the Author, than he himself was by the Natives.

After a general view of the Sea Coasts, he will lead you into the Country by the Watches, through the Thorney Gates, then Conduct you round upon the Mountains that Encompass and Fortifie the whole Kingdom, and by the way carry you to the top of Hommalet or Adam's Peak; from those he will descend with you, and shew you their chief Cities and Towns, and pass through them into the Countrey, and there acquaint you with their Husbandry, then entertain you with the Fruits, Flowers, Herbs, Roots, Plants and Trees, and by the way shelter you from Sun and Rain, with a Fan made of the Talipat-Leaf. Then shew you their Beasts, Birds, Fish, Serpents, Insects; and

last of all, their Commodities. From hence he will carry you to Court, and shew you the King in the several Estates of his Life ; and acquaint you with his way of Governing, Revenues, Treasures, Officers, Governors, Military Strength, Wars: and by the way entertain you with an account of the late Rebellion against him. After which he will bring you acquainted with the Inhabitants themselves, whence you may know their different Humours, Ranks and Qualities. Then you may visit their Temples such as they are, and see the Foppery of their Priests Religious Opinions and Practices both in their Worship and Festivals, and afterwards go home to their Houses and be acquainted with their Conversation and Entertainment, see their Housewifery, Furniture, Finery, and understand how they Breed and Dispose of their Children in Marriage ; and in what Employments and Recreations they pass their time. Then you may acquaint your self with their Language, Learning, Laws, and if you please with their Magick & Jugling. And last of all with their Diseases, Sickness, Death, and manner of Burial. After which he will give you a full account of the Reason of his own Going to, and Detainment in the Island of Ceylon, and Kingdom of Conde-Uda. And of all his various Conditions, and the Accidents that befel him there during Nineteen years and an halfs abode among them. And by what ways and means at last he made his Escape and Returned safe into England in September last, 1680.

Robert Hooke.

Aug. 1. 1681.

To the Right Worshipful Sir William Thomson Knight, Governor, Thomas Papillon Esquire, Deputy, and the 24 Committees of the Honorable East-India Company hereunder Specified, Viz.

The Right Honorable George Earl of Berkley,
The Right Honorable James Lord Chandois.
Sir Matthew Andrews Knight,
Sir Josia Bancks Baronet,
Sir Samuel Barnardiston Baronet,
Mr. Christopher Boone,
John Bathurst Esquire,
Sir John Child Baronet,
Mr. Thomas Canham,
Collonel John Clerk,
Sir James Edwards Knight,
Mr. Joseph Herne,
Richard Hutchinson Esquire,
James Hublon Esquire,
Sir John Lethieullier
Mr. Nathaniel Petton,
Knight,
Sir John Moor Knight,
Samuel Moyer Esquire,
Mr. John Morden,
Mr. John Paige,
Edward Rudge Esquire,
Daniel Sheldon Esquire,
Mr. Jeremy Sambrook,
Robert Thomson Esquire.

Right Worshipful,

Ince my return home to my Native Countrey of England, after a long and Disconsolate Captivity, my Friends and Acquaintance in our Converse together have been Inquisitive into the State of that Land in which I was Captivated; whose Curiosity I indeavour to satisfie. But my Relations and Accounts of Things in those Parts were so strange and uncouth, and so different from those

in these Western Nations, and withal my Discourses seeming so Delightful and Acceptable unto them, they very frequently called upon me to write what I knew of that Island of Ceilon, and to digest it into a Discourse, and make it more Publick ; unto which motion I was not much unwilling, partly that I might comply with the Desires and Councels of my Friends, and chiefly that I might Publish and Declare the great Mercy of God to me, and Commemorate before all Men my singular Deliverance out of that Strange and Pagan Land, which as often as I think of or mention, I cannot but admire and adore the goodness of God towards me, there being in it so many notable Footsteps of his signal Providence.

I had then by me several Papers, which during my Voyage homeward from Bantam at leisure times I writ concerning the King and the Countrey, and concerning the English there, and of my Escape ; which Papers I forthwith set my self to Peruse and draw into a Method, and to add what more might occur to my Thoughts of those Matters, which at length I have finished, contriving what I had to relate under four Heads. The first concerning the Countrey and Products of it. The second concerning the King and his Government. The third concerning the Inhabitants, and their Religion and Customs, and the last concerning our Surprize, Detainment and Escape ; In all which I take leave to Declare, That I have writ nothing but either what I am assured of by my own personal Knowledge to be true, and wherein I have born a great and a sad share, or what I have received from the Inhabitants themselves of such things as are commonly known to be true among them. The Book being thus perfected, it required no long Meditation unto whom to present it, it could be to none but your selves (my Honoured Masters) by whose Wisdom and Success the East-Indian Parts of the World are now near as well known, as the Countries next adjacent to us. So that by your means, not only the Wealth, but the Knowledge of those Indies is brought home to us. Unto your Favour

and Patronage therefore (Right Worshipful) I humbly presume to recommend these Papers and the Author of them, who rejoyceth at this opportunity to acknowledge the Favours you have already conferred on him, and to profess that next unto God, on you depend his Future Hopes and Expectations; being

Right Worshipful,

Your most obliged and most humble

and devoted Servant to be Commanded,

Robert Knox.

Lond. 18th.
March, $16\frac{80}{81}$.

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An Historical Relation

OF

ZEILON,

(Alias Ceylon,)

An Island in the East-Indies.

PART I.

Chap. I.

A general Description of the Island.

HOw this Island lyes with respect unto the Neighbouring Countries, I shall not speak at all, that being to be seen in our ordinary Sea-Cards, which describe those Parts; and but little concerning the Maritime parts of it, now under the Jurisdiction of the Dutch: my design being to relate such things onely that are new and unknown unto these Europæan Nations. It is the Inland Countrey therefore I chiefly intend to write of, which is yet an hidden Land even to the Dutch themselves that inhabit upon the Island. For I have seen among them a fair large Map of this Place, the best I believe extant, yet very faulty: the ordinary Maps in use among us are much more so. I have procured a new one to be drawn, with as much truth and exactness

as I could, and his Judgment will not be deemed altogether inconsiderable, who had for Twenty Years Travelled about the Iland, and knew almost every step of those Parts especially, that most want describing.

I begin with the Sea-Coasts. Of all which the Hollander is Master. On the North end the chief places are Jafnipatan, and the Iland of Manaur. On the East side Trenkimalay, and Batticalow. To the South is the City of Point de Galle. On the West the City of Columbo, so called from a Tree the Natives call Ambo, (which bears the Mango-fruit) growing in that place; but this never bare fruit, but onely leaves, which in their Language is [p. 2.] Cola, and thence they called the Tree Colambo: which the Christians in honour of Columbus turned to Columbo. It is the chief City on the Sea-coasts, where the chief Governour hath his residence. On this side also is Negumba, and Colpentine. All these already mentioned are strong fortified places: There are besides many other smaller Forts and Fortifications. All which, with considerable Territories, to wit, all round bordering upon the Sea-coasts, belong to the Dutch Nation.

A general division of the Inland Countrey.

I proceed to the Inland-Country, being that that is now under the King of Cande. It is convenient that we first understand, that this land is divided into greater or less shares or parts. The greater divisions give me leave to call Provinces, and the less Counties, as resembling ours in England, tho not altogether so big. On the North parts lyes the Province of Nourecalava, consisting of five lesser Divisions or Counties; the Province also of Hotcourly (signifying seven Counties:) it contains seven Counties. On the Eastward is Mautaly, containing three Counties. There are also lying on that side Tammanquod, Bintana, Vellas, Paunoa, these are single Counties. Ouvah also containing three Counties. In this Province are Two and thirty of the Kings Captains dwelling with their Soldiers. In the Midland within those already mentioned lye Wallaponahoy (it signifies Fifty holes or vales which describe the nature of it, being nothing but

Hills and Valleys,) Poncipot, (signifying five hundred Souldiers.) Goddaponahoy, (signifying fifty pieces of dry Land;) Hevoihattay (signifying sixty Souldiers,) Cotemul, Horsepot (four hundred Souldiers,) Tunponahoy (three fifties,) Oudanour (it signifies the Upper City,) where I lived last and had Land. Tattanour (the Lower City) in which stands the Royal and chief City, Cande. These two Counties I last named, have the pre-eminence of all the rest in the Land. They are most populous, and fruitful. The Inhabitants thereof are the chief and principal men: insomuch that it is a usual saying among them, that if they want a King, they may take any man, of either of these two Counties, from the Plow, and wash the dirt off him, and he by reason of his quality and descent is fit to be a King. And they have this peculiar Priviledge, That none may be their Governour, but one born in their own Country. These ly to the Westward that follow, Oudipollat, Dolusbaug, Hotteracourly, containing four Counties; Portaloon, Tuncourly, containing three Counties; Cuttiar. Which last, together with Batticalaw, and a part of Tuncourly, the Hollander took from the King during my being there. There are about ten or twelve more un-named, next bordering on the Coasts, which are under the Hollander. All these Provinces and Counties, excepting six, Tammanquod, Vellas, Paùnoa, Hotteracourly, Hotcourly, and Neurecalva, ly upon Hills fruitful and well watered: and therefore they are called in one word Conde Uda, which signifies, On top of the Hills, and the King is styled, the King of Conde Uda.

Each County divided by Woods.

All these Counties are divided each from other by great Woods. Which none may fell, being preserved for Fortifications. In most of them there are Watches kept constantly, but in troublesome times in all.

The Country Hilly, but enriched with Rivers.

The Land is full of Hills, but exceedingly well watered, there being many pure and clear Rivers running through them. Which falling down about their Lands is a very great benefit for the Countrey in respect of their Rice, their chief Sustenance. These Rivers are generally very [p. 3.]

rocky, and so un-navigable. In them are great quantities of Fish, and the greater for want of Skill in the People to catch them. The main River of all is called Mavelagonga; Which proceeds out of the Mountain called Adams Peak (of which afterwards:) it runs thro the whole Land Northward, and falls into the Sea at Trenkimalay. It may be an Arrows flight over in bredth, but not Navigable by reason of the many Rocks and great falls in it: Towards the Sea it is full of Aligators, but on the Mountains none at all.

The great River, Mavelagonga described.

It is so deep, that unless it be mighty dry weather, a man cannot wade over it, unless towards the head of it. They use little Canoues to pass over it: but there are no Bridges built over it, being so broad, and the Stream in time of Rains (which in this Countrey are very great) runs so high, that they cannot make them, neither if they could, would it be permitted; for the King careth not to make his Countrey easie to travel, but desires to keep it intricate. This River runs within a mile or less of the City of Cande. In some places of it, full of Rocks, in others clear for three or four miles.

There is another good large River running through Cotemul, and falls into that before mentioned. There are divers others brave Rivers that water the Countrey, tho none Navigable for the cause abovesaid.

Woody.

The Land is generally covered with Woods, excepting the Kingdome of Ouvah, and the Counties of Oudipollat, and Dolusbaug, which are naturally somewhat clear of them.

Where most populous and healthful.

It is most populous about the middle, least near about by the Sea; how it is with those Parts under the Hollander, I know not. The Northern parts are somewhat sickly by reason of bad water, the rest very healthful.

The nature of the Valleys.

The Valleys between their Hills are many of them quagmires, and most of them full of brave Springs of pure water: Which watery Valleys are the best sort of Land for their Corn, as requiring much moisture, as shall be told in its place.

The great Hill,

On the South side of Conde Uda is an Hill, supposed

to be the highest on this Island, called in the Chingulay Language, Hamalell; but by the Portuguez and the Europæan Nations, Adams Peak. It is sharp like a Sugar-loaf, and on the Top a flat Stone with the print of a foot like a mans on it, but far bigger, being about two foot long. The people of this Land count it meritorious to go and worship this impression; and generally about their New Year, which is in March, they, Men, Women and Children, go up this vast and high Mountain to worship. The manner of which I shall write hereafter, when I come to describe their Religion. Out of this Mountain arise many fine Rivers, which run thro the Land, some to the Westward, some to the Southward, and the main River, viz. Mavelagonga before mentioned, to the Northward.

Adams Peak, described.

This Kingdom of Conde Uda is strongly fortified by Nature. For which way soever you enter into it, you must ascend vast and high mountains, and descend little or nothing. The wayes are many, but very narrow, so that but one can go abreast. The Hills are covered with Wood and great Rocks, so that 'tis scarce possible to get up any where, but onely in the paths, in all which there are gates made of Thorns, the one at the bottom, the other at the top of the Hills, and two or three men always set to watch, who are to examine all that come and go, and see what they carry, that Letters may not be conveyed, nor Prisoners or other Slaves run away. These Watches, in case of opposition, are to call out to the Towns near, who are to assist them. They oftentimes have no Arms, for they are the people of the next Towns: but their Weapons to stop people are to charge them in the Kings Name; which disobeyed, is so severely punished, that none dare resist. These Watches are but as Sentinels to give notice; for in case of War and Danger the King sends Commanders and Souldiers to ly here. But of this enough. These things being more proper to be related, when we come to discourse of the Policy and Strength of the Kingdom.

The natural Strength of this Kingdom.

[p. 4.]

The difference of the Seasons in this Country.

The one part of this Island differs very much from the other, both in respect of the Seasons and the Soyl. For when the Westwardly Winds blow, then it rains on the West side of the Island: and that is the season for them to till their grounds. And at the same time on the East side is very fair and dry weather, and the time of their Harvest. On the contrary, when the East Winds blow, it is Tilling time for those that inhabit the East Parts, and Harvest to those on the West. So that Harvest is here in one part or other all the Year long. These Rains and this dry weather do part themselves about the middle of the Land; as oftentimes I have seen, being on the one side of a Mountain called Cauragas hing, rainy and wet weather, and as soon as I came on the other, dry, and so exceeding hot, that I could scarcely walk on the ground, being, as the manner there is, barefoot.

What Parts have most Rain.

It rains far more in the High-Lands of Conde Uda, then in the Low-Lands beneath the Hills. The North End of this Island is much subject to dry weather. I have known it for five or six Years together so dry, (having no Rains, and there is no other means of water but that, being but three Springs of running water, that I know, or ever heard of) that they could not plow nor sow, and scarcely could dig Wells deep enough to get water to drink, and when they got it, its tast was brackish. At which time in other Parts there wanted not Rain; Whither the Northern People were forced to come to buy food. Let thus much suffice to have spoken of the Countreys, Soyl and Nature of this Island in general. I will proceed to speak of the Cities and Towns of it, together with some other Remarkable Matters thereunto belonging.

Chap. II.

Concerning the Chief Cities and Towns of this Island.

IN this Island are several Places, where, they say, formerly stood Cities; and still retain the Name, tho little or nothing of Building be now to be seen. But yet there are Five Cities now standing, which are the most Eminent, and where the King hath Palaces and Goods; yet even these, all of them, except that wherein his Person is, are ruined and fallen to decay. *The most Eminent Cities are Five.*

The First is the City of Candy, so generally called by the Christians, probably from Conde, which in the Chingulays Language signifies Hills, for among them it is situated, but by the Inhabitants called Hingodagul-neure, as much as to say, the City of the Chingulay people, and Mauneur, signifying the Chief or Royal City. This is the Chief or Metropolitical City of the whole Island. It is placed in the midst of the Island in Tattanour, bravely situate for all conveniences, excellently well watered. The Kings Palace stands on the East corner of the City, as is customary in this Land for the Kings Palaces to stand. This City is three-square like a Triangle: but no artificial strength about it, unless on the South side, which is the easiest and openest way to it, they have long since cast up a Bank of Earth cross the Valley from one Hill to the other; which nevertheless is not so steep but that a man may easily go over it any where. It may be some twenty foot in height. In every Way to come to this City about two or three miles off from it are Thorn-Gates and Watches to examine all that go and come: It is environed round with Hills. The great River coming down from Adams Peak runs within less than a mile of it on the West side. It has oftentimes been burnt by the Portuguez in their former Invasions of this Island, together with the Kings Palace [p. 5.] *Candy.*

and the Temples. Insomuch that the King has been fain to pay them a Tribute of three Elephants per annum. The King left this City about Twenty Years ago, and never since has come at it. So that it is now quite gone to decay.

Nellemby. A second City is Nellemby-neur, lying in Oudipollat, South of Cande, some Twelve miles distance. Unto this the King retired, and here kept his Court, when he forsook Candy.

Allout-neur. Thirdly, The City Allout-neur on the North East of Cande. Here this King was born, here also he keeps great store of Corn and Salt, &c. against time of War or Trouble. This is Situate in the Countrey of Bintan, which Land, I have never been at, but have taken a view of from the top of a Mountain, it seems to be smooth Land, and not much hilly ; the great River runneth through the midst of it. It is all over covered with mighty Woods and abundance of Deer. But much subject to dry Weather and Sickness. In these Woods is a sort of Wild People Inhabiting, whom we shall speak of in their place.

The Country of Bintan described.

Badoula. Fourthly, Badoula Eastward from Cande some two dayes Journey, the second City in this Land. The Portugals in time of War burnt it down to the ground. The Palace here is quite ruined ; the Pagodas onely remain in good repair.

The Province of Ouvah. This City stands in the Kingdom or Province of Ouvah, which is a Countrey well watered, the Land not smooth, neither the Hills very high, wood very scarce, but what they plant about their Houses. But great plenty of Cattle, their Land void of wood being the more apt for grazing. If these Cattle be carried to any other Parts in this Island they will commonly dye, the reason whereof no man can tell, onely they conjecture it is occasioned by a kind of small Tree or Shrub, that grows in all Countreys but in Ouvah, the Touch or Scent of which may be Poyson to the Ouvah Cattel ; though it is not so to other. The Tree hath a pretty Physical smell like an Apothecaries Shop, but no sort of Cattle will eat it. In this Country

grows the best Tobacco that is on this Land. Rice is more plenty here then most other things.

The fifth City is Digligy-neur towards the East of Cande, lying in the Country of Hevahatt. Where the King ever since he was routed from Nellemby in the Rebellion Anno 1664. hath held his Court. The scituation of this place is very Rocky and Mountainous, the Lands Barren ; So that hardly a worse place could be found out in the whole Island. Yet the King chose it, partly because it lyes about the middle of his Kingdom, but chiefly for his safety ; having the great Mountain Gauluda behind his Palace, unto which he fled for Safety in the Rebellion, being not only high, but on the top of it lye three Towns, and Corn Fields, whence he may have necessary supplies : and it is so fenced with steep Cliffs, Rocks and Woods, that a few men here will be able to defend themselves against a great Army. [p. 6.] *Digligy, the place of the Kings constant Residence.* *Gauluda.*

There are besides these already mentioned, several other ruinous places that do still retain the name of Cities, where Kings have Reigned, tho now little Foot-steps remaining of them. At the North end of this Kings Dominions is one of these Ruinous Cities, called Anurodgburro where they say Ninety Kings have Reigned, the Spirits of whom they hold now to be Saints in Glory, having merited it by making Pagoda's and Stone Pillars and Images to the honour of their Gods, whereof there are many yet remaining : which the Chingulayes count very meritorious to worship, and the next way to Heaven. Near by is a River, by which we came when we made our escape : all along which is abundance of hewed stones, some long for Pillars, some broad for paving. Over this River there have been three Stone Bridges built upon Stone Pillars, but now are fallen down ; and the Countrey all desolate without Inhabitants. At this City of Anurodgburro is a Watch kept, beyond which are no more people that yield obedience to the King of Candy. This place is above Ninety miles to the Northward of the City of Candy. In these Northern Parts there are no Hills, nor but two or three Springs of *Many Ruins of Cities.* *Anurodgburro.* *The nature of the Northern Parts.*

running water, so that their Corn ripeneth with the help of Rain.

The Port of Portaloon: It affords Salt.

There is a Port in the Countrey of Portaloon lying on the West side of this Island, whence part of the Kings Countrey is supplyed with Salt and Fish: where they have some small Trade with the Dutch, who have a Fort upon the Point, to prevent Boats from coming: But the Eastern Parts being too far, and Hilly, to drive Cattel thither for Salt, Gods Providence hath provided them a place on the East side nearer them, which in their Language they call Leawava. Where the Eastwardly Winds blowing, the Sea beats in, and in Westwardly Winds (being then fair weather there) it becomes Salt, and that in such abundance, that they have as much as they please to fetch. This Place of Leawava is so contrived by the Providence of the Almighty Creator, that neither the Portuguez nor Dutch in all the time of their Wars could ever prevent this People from having the benefit of this Salt, which is the principal thing that they esteem in time of Trouble or War; and most of them do keep by them a store of Salt against such times. It is, as I have heard, environed with Hills on the Land side, and by Sea not convenient for Ships to ride; and very sickly, which they do impute to the power of a great God, who dwelleth near by in a Town they call Cotteragom, standing in the Road, to whom all that go to fetch Salt both small and great must give an Offering. The Name and Power of this God striketh such terror into the Chingulayes, that those who otherwise are Enemies to this King, and have served both Portuguez and Dutch against him, yet would never assist either to make Invasions this way.

Leawava affords Salt in abundance.

Described.

[p. 7.]

Their Towns how Built.

Having said thus much concerning the Cities and other Eminent places of this Kingdom, I will now add a little concerning their Towns. The best are those that do belong to their Idols, wherein stand their Dewals or Temples. They do not care to make Streets by building their Houses together in rowes, but each man lives by himself in his own Plantation, having an hedg it may be

and a ditch round about him to keep out Cattel. Their Towns are always placed some distance from the High-ways, for they care not that their Towns should be a thorough-fair for all people, but onely for those that have business with them. They are not very big, in some may be Forty, in some Fifty houses, and in some above an Hundred: and in some again not above eight or ten.

Many lye in Ruins, and forsaken; and upon what occasion.

And as I said before of their Cities, so I must of their Towns, That there are many of them here and there lie desolate, occasioned by their voluntary forsaking them, which they often do, in case many of them fall sick, and two or three die soon after one another: For this they conclude to happen from the hand of the Devil. Whereupon they all leave their Town and go to another, thinking thereby to avoid him: Thus relinquishing both their Houses and Lands too. Yet afterwards, when they think the Devil hath departed the place, some will sometimes come back and re-assume their Lands again.

Chap. III.

Of their Corn, with their manner of Husbandry.

The Products and Commodities of the Countrey.

HAving discoursed hitherto of the Countrey, method will require that I proceed now to the Products of it; Viz. their Fruits, Plants, Beasts, Birds, and other Creatures, Minerals, Commodities, &c. whereof I must declare once for all, That I do not pretend to write an Exact and Perfect Treatise, my time and leisure not permitting me so to do; but only to give a Relation of some of the chief of these things, and as it were a tast of them, according as they occur to my Memory while I am writing. I shall first begin with their Corn, as being the Staff of their Countrey.

Corn of divers sorts.

They have divers sorts of Corn, tho all different from ours. And here I shall first speak of their Rice, the Choice

and Flower of all their Corn, and then concerning the other inferior kinds among them.

Rice. Of Rice they have several sorts, and called by several names according to the different times of their ripening: However in tast little disagreeing from one another. Some will require seven Months before it come to maturity, called Mauvi; some six, Hauteal; others will ripen in five, Honorowal; others in four, Henit; and others in three, Aulfancol: The price of all these is one and the same. That which is soonest ripe, is most savoury to the tast; but yieldeth the least increase. It may be asked [p. 8.] then, why any other sort of Rice is sown, but that which is longest a Ripening, seeing it brings in most Profit? In answer to this, you must know, That all these sorts of Rice do absolutely require Water to grow in, all the while they stand; so that the Inhabitants take great pains in procuring and saving water for their Grounds, and in making Conveyances of Water from their Rivers and Ponds into their Lands, which they are very ingenious in; also in levelling their Corn Lands, which must be as smooth as a Bowling-Green, that the Water may cover all over. Neither are their steep and Hilly Lands uncapable of being thus overflown with Water. For the doing of which they use this Art. They level these Hills into narrow Allies, some three, some eight foot wide one beneath another, according to the steepness of the Hills, working and digging them in that fashion that they lye smooth and flat, like so many Stairs up the Hills one above another. The Waters at the top of the Hills falling downwards are let into these Allies, and so successively by running out of one into another, water all; first the higher Lands, and then the lower. The highest Allies having such a quantity of Water as may suffice to cover them, the rest runs over unto the next, and that having its proportion, unto the next, and so by degrees it falls into all these hanging parcels of Ground. These Waters last sometimes a longer, and sometimes a shorter Season. Now the Rice they sow is according as they foresee their stock of Water will last.

Grows in Water. Their Ingenuity in watering their Corn Lands.

It will sometimes last them two or three, or four or five Months, more or less; the Rice therefore they chuse to cast into the Ground, is of that sort that may answer the duration of the Water. For all their Crop would be spoilt if the Water should fail them before their Corn grew ripe. If they foresee their Water will hold out long, then they sow the best and most profitable Rice, viz. that which is longest a ripening; but if it will not, they must be content to sow of the worser sorts; that is, those that are sooner ripe. Again, they are forced sometimes to sow this younger Rice, for the preventing the damage it might otherwise meet with, if it should stand longer. For their Fields are all in common, which after they have sown, they enclose till Harvest; But as soon as the Corn first sown becomes ripe, when the Owner has reaped it, it is lawful for him to break down his Fences, and let in his Cattle for grazing; which would prove a great mischief to that Corn that required to stand a Month or two longer. Therefore if they are constrained to sow later than the rest, either through want or sloth, or some other Impediment, yet they make use of that kind of Rice that will become ripe, equal with that first sown. And so they all observe one time of reaping to prevent their Corn being trampled down or eaten up by the Cattle. Thus they time their Corn to their Harvest; some sowing sooner, some later, but all reaping together, unless they be Fields that are enclosed by themselves; and peculiar to one Man.

Why they do not always sow the best kind of Rice.

They sow at different times, but reap together.

Where there are no Springs or Rivers to furnish them with Water, as it is in the Northern Parts, where there are but two or three Springs, they supply this defect by saving of rain Water; which they do, by casting up great Banks in convenient places to stop and contain the Rains that fall, and so save it till they have occasion to let it out into their Fields: They are made rounding like a C or Half-Moon, every Town has one of these Ponds, which if they can but get filled with Water, they count their Corn is as good as in the Barn. It was no small work to the ancient Inhabitants to make all these Banks, of which

Their Artificial Pools.

[p. 9.]

there is a great number, being some two, some three Fathoms in height, and in length some above a Mile, some less, not all of a size. They are now grown over with great Trees, and so seem natural Hills. When they would use the Water, they cut a gap in one end of the Bank, and so draw the Water by little and little, as they have occasion for the watering their Corn. These Ponds in dry weather dry up quite. If they should dig these Ponds deep, it would not be so convenient for them. It would indeed contain the Water well, but would not so well nor in such Plenty empty out it self into their Grounds. In these Ponds are Aligators, which when the Water is dried up depart into the Woods, and down to the Rivers; and in the time of Rains come up again into the Ponds. They are but small, nor do use to catch People, nevertheless they stand in some fear of them. The Corn they sow in these Parts is of that sort that is soonest ripe, fearing lest their Waters should fail. As the Water dries out of these Ponds, they make use of them for Fields, treading the Mud with Buffeloes, and then sowing Rice thereon, and frequently casting up Water with Scoops on it. I have hitherto spoken of those Rices that require to grow in Water.

Aligators harbor in them.

They sow Corn on the Mud.

A sort of Rice that grows without Water.

There is yet another sort of Rice, which will ripen tho' it stand not alway in Water: and this sort of Corn serves for those places, where they cannot bring their Waters to overflow; this will grow with the Rains that fall; but is not esteemed equal with the others, and differs both in scent and taste from that which groweth in the watery Fields.

The Seasons of Seed-time and Harvest.

The ordinary Season of seed time, is in the Months of July and August, and their Harvest in or about February; but for Land that is well watered, they regard no Season; the Season is all the year long. When they Till their Grounds, or Reap their Corn, they do it by whole Towns generally, all helping each other for Attoms, as they call it; that is, that they may help them as much, or as many days again in their Fields, which accordingly they will do.

The Manner of their Ploughing.

They Plough only with a crooked piece of Wood, something like an Elbow, which roots up the Ground, as uneven as if it were done by Hogs, and then they overflow it with water.

A particular description of their Husbandry.

But if any be so curious as to know more particularly how they order and prepare their Lands, and sow their Corn, take this account of it. But before we go to work, it will be convenient first to describe the Tools. To begin therefore with their Plough. I said before it was a crooked piece of Wood, it is but little bigger than a Man's Arm, one end whereof is to hold by, and the other to root up the Ground. In the hollow of this Plough is a piece of Wood fastned some three or four Inches thick, equal with the bredth of the Plough; and at the end of the Plough, is fixt an Iron Plate to keep the Wood from wearing. There is a Beam let in to that part of it that the Ploughman holds in his hand, to which they make their Buffaloes fast to drag it.

Their Plough.

The convenience of these Ploughs.

These Ploughs are proper for this Countrey, because they are lighter, and so may be the more easie for turning, the Fields being short, so that they could not turn with longer, and if heavier, they would sink and be unruly in the mud. These Ploughs bury not the grass as ours do, and there is no need they should. For their endeavour is only to root up the Ground, and so they overflow it with Water, and this rots the Grass.

[p. 10.]

Their first Ploughing.

They Plough twice before they sow. But before they begin the first time, they let in Water upon their Land, to make it more soft and pliable for the Plough. After it is once Ploughed, they make up their Banks. For if otherwise they should let it alone till after the second Ploughing, it would be mere Mud, and not hard enough to use for Banking. Now these Banks are greatly necessary, not only for Paths for the People to go upon through the Fields, who otherwise must go in the Mud, it may be knee deep; but chiefly to keep in and contain their Water, which by the help of these Banks they overflow their Grounds with. These Banks they make as smooth with

Their Banks, and use of them.

the backside of their Houghs, as a Bricklayer can smooth a Wall with his Trowel. For in this they are very neat. These Banks are usually not above a Foot over.

Their second Ploughing.

After the Land is thus Ploughed and the Banks finished, it is laid under water again for some time, till they go to Ploughing the second time. Now it is exceeding muddy, so that the trampling of the Cattel that draws the Plough, does as much good as the Plough; for the more muddy the better. Sometimes they use no Plough this second time, but only drive their Cattel over to make the Ground the muddier.

How they prepare their Seed-Corn,

Their Lands being thus ordered, they still keep them overflowed with Water, that the Weeds and Grass may rot. Then they take their Corn and lay it a soak in Water a whole night, and the next day take it out, and lay it in a heap, and cover it with green leaves, and so let it lye some five or six days to make it grow. Then they take and wet it again, and lay it in a heap covered over with leaves as before, and so it grows and shoots out with Blades and Roots. In the mean time while this is thus a growing, they prepare their Ground for sowing; which is thus: They have a Board about four foot long, which they drag over their Land by a yoke of Buffaloes, not flat ways, but upon the edge of it. The use of which is, that it jumbles the Earth and Weeds together, and also levels and makes the Grounds smooth and even, that so the Water (for the ground is all this while under water) may stand equal in all places. And wheresoever there is any little hummock standing out of the Water, which they may easily see by their eye, with the help of this Board they break and lay even. And so it stands overflown while their Seed is growing, and become fit to sow, which usually is eight days after they lay it in soak.

And their Land after it is Ploughed.

When the Seed is ready to sow, they drain out all the Water, and with little Boards of about a foot and a half long, fastned upon long Poles, they trim the Land over again, laying it very smooth, making small Furrows all along, that in case Rain or other Waters should come in,

The Manner of Smoothing their Feilds.

it might drain away; for more Water now would endanger rotting the Corn. And then they sow their Corn, which they do with very exact evenness, strewing it with their hands, just as we strew Salt upon Meat. *Their manner of sowing.*

And thus it stands without any Water, till such time as the Corn be grown some three or four Inches above the Ground. There were certain gaps made in the Banks to let out the water, these are now stopped to keep it in. Which is not only to nourish the Corn, but to kill the weeds. For they keep their Fields as clean as a Garden without a weed. Then when the Corn is grown about a span high, the Women come and weed it, and pull it up where it grew too thick, and transplant it where it wants. And so it stands overflown till the Corn be ripe, when they let out the water again to make it dry for reaping. They never use any dung, but their manner of plowing and soaking of their Ground serves instead thereof. *How they Manure and order their young Corn.* [p. 11.]

At reaping they are excellent good, just after the English manner. The whole Town, as I said before, as they joyn together in Tilling, so in their Harvest also; For all fall in together in reaping one man's Field, and so to the next, until every mans Corn be down. And the Custome is, that every man, during the reaping of his Corn, finds all the rest with Victuals. The womens work is to gather up the Corn after the Reapers, and carry it all together. *Their manner of Reaping.*

They use not Threshing, but tread out their Corn with Cattel, which is a far quicker and easier way. They may tread out in a day forty or fifty Bushels at least with the help of half a dozen Cattel. *They tread out their Corn with Cattel.*

When they are to tread their Corn they choose a convenient adjoyning place. Here they lay out a round piece Ground some twenty or five and twenty foot over. From which they cut away the upper Turf. Then certain Ceremonies are used. First, they adorn this place with ashes made into flowers and branches, and round circles. Then they take divers strange shells, and pieces of Iron, and some sorts of Wood, and a bunch of betel Nuts, (which are reserved for such purposes) and lay all these in the very *The Ceremonies they use when the Corn is to be trodden.*

middle of the Pit, and a large stone upon them. Then the women, whose proper work it is, bring each their burthen of reaped Corn upon their heads, and go round in the Pit three times, and then fling it down. And after this without any more ado, bring in the rest of the Corn as fast as they can. For this Labour, and that of weeding, the Women have a Fee due to them, which they call Warapol, that is as much Corn, as shall cover the Stone and the other Conjuration-Instruments at the bottom of the Pit.

They will frequently carry away their new reaped Corn into the Pit, and tread it out presently as soon as they have cut it down, to secure it from the Rains, which in some Parts are very great and often; and Barns they have none big enough. But in other places not so much given to Rains, they will sometimes set it up in a Cock, and let it stand some months.

How they unhusk their Rice.

They unshale their Rice from its outward husk by beating it in a Mortar, or on the Ground more often; but some of these sorts of Rice must first be boyled in the husk, otherwise in beating it will break to powder. The which Rice, as it is accounted, so I by experience have found, to be the wholsomest; This they beat again the second time to take off a Bran from it; and after that it becomes white. And thus much concerning Rice-Corn.

Other sorts of Corn among them.

Besides this, tho far inferior to it, there are divers other sorts of Corn, which serve the People for food in the absence of Rice, which will scarcely hold out with many of

Coracan.

them above half the Year. There is Coracan, which is a small seed like Mustard-seed. This they grind to meal or beat in a Mortar, and so make Cakes of it, baking it

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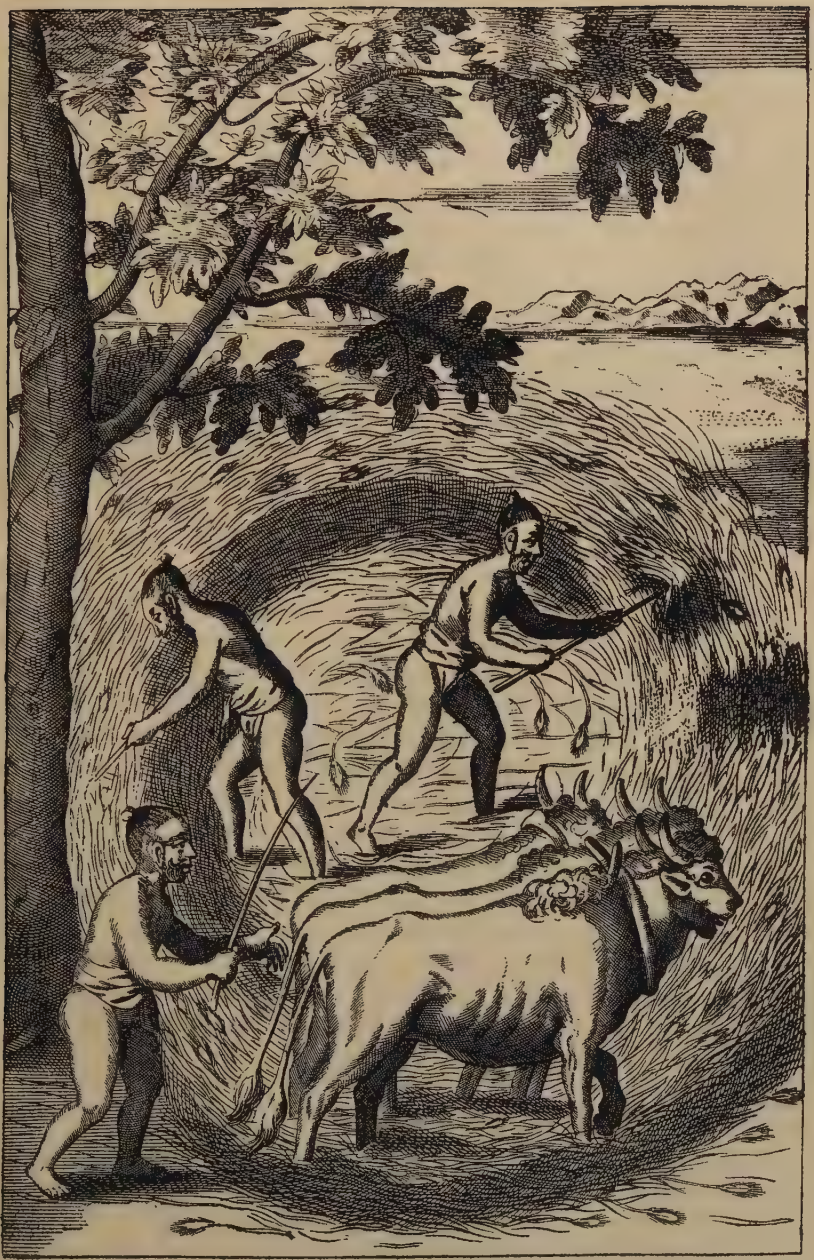
upon the Coals in a potsheard, or dress it otherwise. If they which are not used to it, eat it, it will gripe their Bellies; When they are minded to grind it, they have for their Mill two round stones, which they turn with their hands by the help of a stick: There are several sorts of this Corn. Some will ripen in three months, and some require four. If the Ground be good, it yields a great encrease; and grows both on the Hills and in the Plains.



The Manner of treading out their Rice.

There is another Corn called Tanna ; It is much eaten in the Northern Parts, in Conde Uda but little sown. It is as small as the former, but yieldeth a far greater encrease. From one grain may spring up two, three, four or five stalks, according as the ground is, on each stalk one ear, that contains thousands of grains. I think it gives the greatest encrease of any one seed in the World. Each Husbandman sowes not above a Pottle at a Seeds-time. It growes up two foot, or two foot and an half from the ground. The way of gathering it when ripe, is, that the Women (whose office it is) go and crop off the ears with their hands, and bring them home in baskets. They onely take off the ears of Coracan also, but they being tough, are cut off with knives. This Tanna must be parched in a Pan, and then is beaten in a Mortar to unhusk it. It will boyl like Rice, but swell far more ; the tast not bad but very dry, and accounted wholsome ; the fashion flattish, the colour yellow and very lovely to the Eye. It ripens in four months, some sorts of it in three. There are also divers other sorts, which grow on dry Land (as the former) and ripen with the Rain. As Moung, a Corn somewhat like Vetches, growing in a Cod. Omb, a small seed, boyled and eaten as Rice. It has an operation pretty strange, which is, that when it is new it will make them that eat it like drunk, sick and spue ; and this only when it is sown in some Grounds, for in all it will not have this effect : and being old, none will have it. Minere, a small seed. Boumas, we call them Garavances. Tolla, a seed used to make Oyl, with which they anoint themselves ; and sometimes they will parch it and eat it with Jaggory, a kind of brown Sugar. And thus much of their Corn.

Tanna.

Moung.

Omb.

Chap. IV.

Of their Fruits, and Trees.

Great variety of Fruits, and delicious.

OF Fruits here are great plenty and variety, and far more might be if they did esteem or nourish them. Pleasant Fruits to eat ripe they care not at all to do, They look only after those that may fill the Belly, and satisfie their hunger when their Corn is spent, or to make it go the further. These onely they plant, the other Fruits of Pleasure plant themselves, the seeds of the ripe Fruits shedding and falling on the ground naturally spring up again. They have all Fruits that grow in India. Most sorts of these delicious Fruits they gather before they be ripe, and boyl them to make Carrees, to use the Portuguez word, that is somewhat to eat with and relish their Rice. But wheresoever there is any Fruit better than ordinary, the Ponudecars, or Officers of the Countrey, will tie a string about the Tree in the Kings Name with three knots on the end thereof, and then no man, not the Owner himself, dares presume under pain of some great punishment, if not death, to touch them. And when they are ripe, they are wrapped in white cloth, and carried to him who is Governour of that Countrey wherein they grow: and if they be without any defect or blemish, then being wrapped up again in white cloth, he presents them to the King. But the owner in whose Ground they grow is paid nothing at all for them: it is well if he be not compelled to carry them himself into the bargain unto the King, be it never so far. These are Reasons why the People regard not to plant more than just to keep them alive.

The best Fruits, wherever they grow, reserved for the King. [p. 13.]

Betel-Nuts.

But to specifie some of the chief of the Fruits in request among them. I begin with their Betel-Nuts, the Trees that bear them grow only on the South and West sides of this Island. They do not grow wild, they are only in their Towns, and there like unto Woods, without any

inclosures to distinguish one mans Trees from anothers; but by marks of great Trees, Hummacks or Rocks each man knows his own. They plant them not, but the Nuts being ripe fall down in the grass and so grow up to Trees. They are very streight and tall, few bigger than the calf of a mans Leg. *The Trees.* The Nuts grow in bunches at the top, and being ripe look red and very lovely like a pleasing Fruit. *The Fruit.* When they gather them, they lay them in heaps until the shell be somewhat rotted, and then dry them in the Sun, and afterwards shell them with a sharp stick one and one at a time. These Trees will yield some 500, some a 1000, some 1500 Nuts, and some but three or four hundred. They bear but once in the Year generally, but commonly there are green Nuts enough to eat all the Year long. *The Leaves.* The leaves of it are somewhat like those of a Coker-Nut Tree, they are five or six foot long, and have other lesser leaves growing out of the sides of them, like the feathers on each side of a quill. The Chingulays call the large leaves the boughs, and the leaves on the sides, the leaves. They fall off every Year, and the skin upon which they grow, with them. *The Skins, and their use.* These skins grow upon the body of the Tree, and the leaves grow out on them. They also clap about the buds or blossoms which bear the Nuts, and as the buds swell, so this skin-cover gives way to them, till at length it falls quite off with the great leaf on it. It is somewhat like unto Leather, and of great use unto the Countrey People. It serves them instead of Basons to eat their Rice in, and when they go a Journey to tie up their Provisions: For in these skins or leaves they can tie up any liquid substance as Oyl or water, doubling it in the middle, and rowling in the two sides, almost like a purse. For bigness they are according to the Trees, some bigger, some less, ordinarily they are about two foot length, and a foot and an half in breadth. In this Countrey are no Inns to go to, and therefore their manner when they Travel is, to carry ready dressed what provisions they can, which they make up in these leaves. The Trees within have onely a kind of pith, and will split from one end to the other, the

The Wood. Wood is hard and very strong; they use it for Laths for their Houses, and also for Rails for their Hedges, which are only stakes struck in the ground, and rails tyed along with rattans, or other withs growing in the Woods.

The profit the Fruit yields. Money is not very plentiful in this Land, but by means of these Nuts, which is a great Commodity to carry to the Coasts of Cormandel, they furnish themselves with all things they want. The common price of Nuts, when [p. 14.] there was a Trade, as there was when I came first on this Land, is 20000 for one Doller; but now they ly and grow, or rot on the ground under the Trees. Some of these Nuts do differ much from others in their operation, having this effect, that they will make people drunk and giddy-headed, and give them some stools, if they eat them green.

Jacks. There is another Fruit, which we call Jacks; the Inhabitants when they are young call them Polos, before they be full ripe Cose; and when ripe, Warracha or Vellas; But with this difference, the Warracha is hard, but the Vellas as soft as pap, both looking alike to the eye no difference; but they are distinct Trees. These are a great help to the People, and a great part of their Food. They grow upon a large Tree, the Fruit is as big as a good Peck loaf, the outside prickly like an Hedg-hog, and of a greenish colour; there are in them Seeds or Kernels, or Eggs as the Chingulayes call them, which lie dispersed in the Fruit like Seeds in a Cucumber. They usually gather them before they be full ripe, boreing an hole in them, and feeling of the Kernel, they know if they be ripe enough for their purpose. Then being cut in pieces they boil them, and eat to save Rice and fill their Bellies; they eat them as we would do Turnips or Cabbage, and tast and smell much like the latter: one may suffice six or seven men. When they are ripe they are sweet and good to eat raw. The Kernels do very much resemble Chesnuts both in colour and tast, and are almost as good: the poor people will boyl them or roast them in the embers, there being usually a good heap of them lying in a corner by the fire

side; and when they go a Journey, they will put them in a bag for their Provisions by the way. One Jack may contain three pints or two quarts of these seeds or kernels. When they cut these Jacks, there comes running out a white thick substance like tar, and will stick just like Bird-lime, which the Boyes make use of to catch Birds, which they call Cola, or bloud of the Cos. Some will mix this with the flower of Rice, and it will eat like Eggs.

Jombo.

Another Fruit there is which I never saw in any other Parts of India, they call it Jombo. In tast it is like to an Apple, full of Juice, and pleasant to the Palate, and not unwholsom to the Body, and to the Eye no Fruit more amiable, being white, and delicately coloured with red, as if it were painted.

Other Fruits found in the Woods.

Also in the wild Woods are several sorts of pretty Fruits, as Murros, round in shape, and as big as a Cherry, and sweet to the tast; Dongs, nearest like to a black Cherry. Ambelo's like to Barberries. Carolla cabella, Cabela pooke, and Polla's, these are like to little Plums, and very well tasted. Paragidde, like to our Pears, and many more such like Fruits.

Fruits common with other parts of India.

Here are also, of Indian Fruits, Coker-nuts; Plantins also and Bananas of divers and sundry sorts, which are distinguished by the tast as well as by the names; rare sweet Oranges and sower ones, Limes but no Lemons, such as ours are; Pautaurings, in tast all one with a Lemon, but much bigger than a mans two fists, right Citrons, and a small sort of sweet Oranges. Here are several other sorts of Lemons, and Oranges, Mangoes of several sorts, and some very good and sweet to eat. In this sort of Fruit the King much delights, and hath them brought to him from all Parts of the Island. Pine-Apples also grow there, Sugar Canes, Water-Melons, Pomegranates, Grapes both black and white, Mirablins, Codjeu's, and several other.

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There are three other Trees that must not here be omitted; which tho they bear no eatable Fruit, yet the Leaves of the one, and the Juice of the other, and the

Bark of the third are very renowned, and of great benefit.

The Tallipot; the rare Uses of the Leaf.

The first is the Tallipot; It is as big and tall as a Ships Mast, and very streight, bearing only Leaves: which are of great use and benefit to this People; one single Leaf being so broad and large, that it will cover some fifteen or twenty men, and keep them dry when it rains. The leaf being dryed is very strong, and limber and most wonderfully made for mens Convenience to carry along with them; for tho this leaf be thus broad when it is open, yet it will fold close like a Ladies Fan, and then it is no bigger than a mans arm. It is wonderful light, they cut them into pieces, and carry them in their hands. The whole leaf spread is round almost like a Circle, but being cut in pieces for use are near like unto a Triangle: They lay them upon their heads as they travel with the peaked end foremost, which is convenient to make their way thro the Boughs and Thickets. When the Sun is vehement hot they use them to shade themselves from the heat. Souldiers all carry them; for besides the benefit of keeping them dry in case it rain upon the march, these leaves make their Tents to ly under in the Night. A marvelous Mercy which Almighty God hath bestowed upon this poor and naked People in this Rainy Country! one of these I brought with me into England, and you have it described in the Figure. These Leaves all grow on the top of the Tree after the manner of a Coker. It bears no kind of Fruit until the last year of its life, and then it comes out on the top, and spreads abroad in great branches, all full first of yellow blossoms, most lovely and beautiful to behold, but smell very strong, and then it comes to a Fruit round and very hard, as big as our largest Cherries, but good only for seed to set: and tho this Tree bears but once, it makes amends, bearing such great abundance, that one Tree will yield seed enough for a Countrey. If these Trees stand near any houses, the smell of the blossoms so much annoyes them, that they regarding not the seed, forthwith cut them down. This Tree is within a Pith

The pith good to eat.

The manner of their ſheltring themſelvs from the Raine by the Tolipat leafe.

only, which is very good to eat if they cut the Tree down before it runs to seed. They bear it in Mortars to Flower, and bake Cakes of it; which tast much like to white bread. It serves them instead of Corn before their Harvest be ripe.

The Kettule yields a delicious juice.

The next Tree is the Kettule. It groweth streight, but not so tall or big as a Coker-Nut-Tree; the inside nothing but a white Pith, as the former. It yieldeth a sort of Liquor, which they call Tellegie: it is rarely sweet and pleasing to the Pallate, and as wholsom to the Body, but no stronger than water. They take it down from the Tree twice, and from some good Trees thrice, in a day. An ordinary Tree will yield some three, some four Gallons in a day, some more and some less. The which Liquor they boyl and make a kind of brown Sugar, called Jaggory; but if they will use their skill, they can make it as white as the second best Sugar: and for any use it is but little inferior to ordinary Sugar. The manner how they take this Liquor from the Tree is thus; When the Tree is come to maturity, first out of the very top there cometh out a bud, which if they let it grow, will bear a round fruit, which is the seed it yieldeth, but is only good to set for encrease. [p. 16.] This bud they cut and prepare, by putting to it several sorts of things, as Salt, Pepper, Lemons, Garlick, Leaves, &c. which keeps it at a stand, and suffers it not to ripen. So they daily cut off a thin slice off the end, and the Liquor drops down in a Pot, which they hang to catch it.

The Skin bears strings as strong as wyer.

It bears a leaf like to that of a Betel-Nut-Tree, which is fastned to a Skin as the Betel-Nut Leaves were, onely this Skin is hard and stubborn like a piece of Board: the Skin is all full of strings as strong as Wyer; they use them to make Ropes withal. As long as the Tree is growing the leaves shed; but when the Tree is come to its full growth, they remain many years upon the Tree before they fall; and when they fall, there are no new ones come again: The top-bud, as it ripens and withers, other buds come out lower and lower every Year till they come to the bottom of the Boughs, and then it hath done bearing, and so may stand seven or ten years, and then dyeth.

The Wood; its Nature and Use. The Wood of this Tree is not above three inches thick, mighty strong and hard to cut in two, but very apt to split from top to bottom; a very heavy wood, they make pestles of it to beat their Rice with; the colour black, but looks not like natural wood, but as if it were composed of divers pieces. The budds of this Tree, as also of the Coker, and Betel Nut-Tree, are excellent in tast, resembling Walnuts or Almonds.

The Cinnamon-Tree. I proceed to the third Tree, which is the Cinnamon, in their Language Corunda-gauhah. It grows wild in the Woods as other Trees, and by them no more esteemed; It is most on the West side of the great River Mavela-gonga. It is much as plenty as Hazel in England, in some places a great deal, in some little, and in some none at all. The Trees are not very great, but sizable. The Cinnamon is *The Bark.* the Bark or Rind, when it is on the Tree it looks whitish. They scrape it and pull it off, and dry it in the Sun: they take it onely from off the smaller Trees, altho the Bark of the greater is as sweet to the smell and as strong to the *The Wood.* tast. The Wood has no smell, in colour white, and soft like Fir. Which for any use they cut down, favouring them no more than other wild Trees in the Wood. The *The Leaf.* Leaf much resembleth the Laurel both in colour and thickness; the difference is, whereas the Laurel hath but one strait rib throughout, whereon the green spreads it self on each sides, the Cinnamon hath three by which the Leaf stretches forth it self. When the young leaves come out they look purely red like scarlet: Break or bruise them, and they will smell more like Cloves than Cinnamon. It *The Fruit.* bears a Fruit, which is ripe in September, much like an Acorn, but smaller, it neither tasts nor smells much like the Bark, but being boyled in water it will yield an Oyl swimming on the top, which when cold is as hard as tallow and as white; and smelleth excellently well. They use it for Oyntments for Aches and Pains, and to burn in Lamps to give light in their houses: but they make no Candles of it, neither are any Candles used by any but the King.

Here are many sorts of Trees that bear Berries to make Oyl of, both in the Woods and Gardens, but not eatable, but used only for their Lamps.

There are other Trees remarkable either for their strangeness, or use, or both. Of these I shall mention a few.

[p. 17.] *The Orula, the Fruit good for Physick, and Dying.*

The Orula, a Tree as big as an Apple-Tree, bears a Berry somewhat like an Olive, but sharper at each end; its Skin is of a reddish green colour, which covereth an hard stone. They make use of it for Physic in Purges; and also to dy black colour: Which they do after this manner; They take the fruit and beat it to pieces in Mortars, and put it thus beaten into water; and after it has been soaking a day or two, it changeth the water, that it looks like Beer. Then they dip their cloth in it, or what they mean to dy, and dry it in the Sun. And then they dip it in black mud, and so let it ly about an hour, then take it and wash it in water: and now it will appear of a pale black. Then being dry, they dip it again into the aforesaid Dy, and it becomes a very good black.

This water will brighten rusty Iron, and serve instead of Ink.

Another use there is of this water. It is this: Let any rusty Iron ly a whole night in it, and it will become bright; and the water look black like Ink, insomuch that men may write with it. These Trees grow but in some Parts of the Land, and nothing near so plentiful as Cinnamon. The Berries the Drugsters in the City there, do sell in their Shops.

The Dounekaia.

The Dounekaia gauhah, a shrub, bears leaves as broad as two fingers, and six or eight foot long, on both sides of them set full of Thorns, and a streak of Thorns runs thro the middle. These leaves they split to weave Matts withal. The Tree bears a bud above a span long, tapering somewhat like a Sugar-loaf. Leaves cover this bud folding it about, like the leaves of a Cabbage. Which leaves smell rarely sweet, and look of a lovely yellow colour like gold. This bud blowes into divers bunches of Flowers, spreading it self open like a Plume of Feathers, each Flower whitish, but very small. The Roots of this shrub they use for

Ropes, splitting them into Thongs, and then making them into Ropes.

The Capita. The Capita gauhah, is a shrub never bigger than a mans arm. The Wood, Rind and Leaves have all a Physical smell; and they do sometimes make use of it for Physic. The Leaf is of a bright green, roundish, rough, and as big as the palm of an hand. No sort of Cattel will eat it, no, not the Goats, that will sometimes brouze upon rank poyson. There is abundance of these Trees every where, and they grow in all Countreys, but in Ouvah. And this is supposed to be the cause, that the Ouvah-Cattle dy, when they are brought thence to any other Country. They attribute it to the smell of this Tree, of such a venomous nature it is to Beasts. And therefore to destroy their Fleas, or to keep their houses clear of them, they sweep them with Brooms made of this shrub. 'Tis excellent good for firing, and will burn when it is green. There are no other coals the Goldsmiths use, but what are made of this wood.

Rattans. Rattans grow in great abundance upon this Island. They run like Honey-suckles either upon the Ground, or up Trees, as it happens, near Twenty fathom in length. There is a kind of a shell or skin grows over the Rattan, and encloseth it round. Which serves for a Case to cover and defend it, when tender. This Skin is so full of prickles and thorns, that you cannot touch it. As the Rattan growes longer and stronger, this Case growes ripe, and falls off prickles and shell and all.

Its Fruit. [p. 18.] It bears fruit in clusters just like bunches of Grapes, and as big. Every particular Berry is covered with a husk like a Gooseberry, which is soft, yellow and scaly, like the scales of a Fish, hansome to look upon. This husk being cracked and broken, within grows a Plum of a whitish colour: within the Plum a stone, having meat about it. The people gather and boyl them to make sour pottage to quench the thirst.

Canes. Canes grow just like Rattans, and bear a fruit like them. The difference onely is, that the Canes are larger.

The Tree that bears the Betel-leaf, which is so much loved and eaten in these parts, growes like Ivy, twining about Trees, or Poles, which they stick in the ground, for it to run up by: and as the Betel growes, the Poles grow also. The form of the Leaf is longish, the end somewhat sharp, broadest next to the stalk, of a bright green, very smooth, just like a Pepper leaf, onely different in the colour, the Pepper leaf being of a dark green. It bears a fruit just like long Pepper, but not good for seed, for it falls off and rots upon the ground. But when they are minded to propagate it, they plant the spriggs, which will grow. *The Betel Tree.*

I shall mention but one Tree more as famous and highly set by as any of the rest, if not more, tho it bear no fruit, the benefit consisting chiefly in the Holiness of it. This Tree they call Bo-gahah; we, the God-Tree. It is very great and spreading, the Leaves always shake like an Asp. They have a very great veneration for these Trees, worshipping them; upon a Tradition, That the Buddou, a great God among them, when he was upon the Earth, did use to sit under this kind of Trees. There are many of these Trees, which they plant all the Land over, and have more care of, than of any other. They pave round under them like a Key, sweep often under them to keep them clean; they light Lamps, and set up their Images under them: and a stone Table is placed under some of them to lay their Sacrifices on. They set them every where in Towns and High wayes, where any convenient places are: they serve also for shade to Travellers. They will also set them in memorial of persons deceased, to wit, there, where their Bodies were burnt. It is held meritorious to plant them, which, they say, he that does, shall dy within a short while after, and go to Heaven: But the oldest men onely that are nearest death in the course of Nature, do plant them, and none else; the younger sort desiring to live a little longer in this World before they go to the other. *The Bo-gauhah, or God-Tree.*

[Chap. V.

Chap. V.

Of their Roots, Plants, Herbs, Flowers.

Roots for Food.

SOme of these are for Food, and some for Medicine. I begin with their Roots, which with the Jacks before mentioned, being many, and generally bearing well, are a great help towards the sustenance of this People. These by the Chingulays by a general name are called Alloes, by the Portugals and us Inyames. They are of divers and sundry sorts, some they plant, and some grow wild; those [p. 19.] that grow wild in the Woods are as good, onely they are more scarce and grow deeper, and so more difficult to be plucked up. It would be to no purpose to mention their particular names; I shall onely speak a little in general of them. They serve both for Food, and for Carrees, that is, sauce, or for a relish to their Rice. But they make many a meal of them alone to lengthen out their Rice, or for want of it: and of these there is no want to those that will take pains but to set them, and cheap enough to those that will buy.

The manner of their growing.

There are two sorts of these Alloes; some require Trees or Sticks to run up on; others require neither. Of the former sort, some will run up to the tops of very large Trees, and spread out very full of branches, and bear great bunches of blossoms, but no use made of them; The Leaves dy every year, but the Roots grow still, which some of them will do to a prodigious bigness within a Year or two's time, becoming as big as a mans wast. The fashion of them somewhat roundish, rugged and uneven, and in divers odd shapes, like a log of cleft wood: they have a very good, savoury mellow tast.

Of those that do not run up on Trees, there are likewise sundry sorts; they bear a long stalk and a broad leaf; the fashion of these Roots are somewhat roundish, some grow out like a mans fingers, which they call Angul-alloes, as

much as to say Finger-Roots; some are of a white colour, some of a red.

Those that grow in the Woods run deeper into the Earth, they run up Trees also. Some bear blossoms somewhat like Hopps, and they may be as big as a mans Arm.

Boyling Herbs.

For Herbs to boyl and eat with Butter they have excellent good ones, and several sorts: some of them are six months growing to maturity, the stalk as high as a man can reach, and being boyled almost as good as Asparagus. There are of this sort, some having leaves and stalks as red as blood, some green: some the leaves green, and the stalk very white.

Fruits for sawce.

They have several other sorts of Fruits which they dress and eat with their Rice, and tast very savoury, called Carowela, Wattacul, Morongo, Cacorehouns, &c. the which I cannot compare to any things that grow here in England.

Europæan Herbs and Plants among them.

They have of our English Herbs and Plants, Colworts, Carrots, Radishes, Fennel, Balsam, Spearmint, Mustard. These, excepting the two last, are not the natural product of the Land, but they are transplanted hither; By which I perceive all other European Plants would grow there: They have also Fern, Indian Corn. Several sorts of Beans as good as these in England: right Cucumbers, Calabasses, and several sorts of Pumkins, &c. The Dutch on that Island in their Gardens have Lettice, Rosemary, Sage, and all other Herbs and Sallettings that we have in these Countreys.

Herbs for Medicine.

Nor are they worse supplyed with Medicinal Herbs. The Woods are their Apothecaries Shops, where with Herbs, Leaves, and the Rinds of Trees they make all their Physic and Plaisters, with which sometimes they will do notable Cures. I will not here enter into a larger discourse of the Medicinal Vertues of their Plants, &c. of which there are hundreds: onely as a Specimen thereof, and likewise of their Skill to use them; I will relate a Passage or two. A Neighbour of mine a Chingulay, would undertake to cure a broken Leg or Arm by application of some [p. 20.] Herbs that grow in the Woods, and that with that speed,

that the broken Bone after it was set should knit by the time one might boyl a pot of Rice and three carrees, that is about an hour and an half or two hours; and I knew a man who told me he was thus cured. They will cure an Imposthume in the Throat with the Rind of a Tree called Amaranga, (whereof I my self had the experience;) by chawing it for a day or two after it is prepared, and swallowing the spittle. I was well in a day and a Night, tho before I was exceedingly ill, and could not swallow my Victuals.

Their Flowers.

Of Flowers they have great varieties, growing wild, for they plant them not. There are Roses red and white, scented like ours: several sorts of sweet smelling Flowers, which the young Men and Women gather and tie in their hairs to perfume them; they tie up their hair in a bunch behind, and enclose the Flowers therein.

A Flower that serves instead of a Dial.

There is one Flower deserves to be mentioned for the rarity and use of it, they call it a Sindric-mal, there are of them some of a Murry colour, and some white. Its Nature is, to open about four a clock in the Evening, and so continueth open all Night until the morning, when it closeth up it self till four a clock again. Some will transplant them out of the Woods into their Gardens to serve them instead of a Clock, when it is cloudy that they cannot see the Sun.

There is another white Flower like our Jasmine, well scented, they call them Picha-mauls, which the King hath a parcel of brought to him every morning, wrapt in a white cloth, hanging upon a staff, and carried by people, whose peculiar office this is. All people that meet these Flowers, out of respect to the King, for whose use they are, must turn out of the Way; and so they must for all other things that go to the King being wrapt up in white cloth. These Officers hold Land of the King for this service: their Office is, also to plant these Flowers, which they usually do near the Rivers where they most delight to grow: Nay, they have power to plant them in any mans Ground, and enclose that ground when they have done it

for the sole use of their Flowers to grow in: which Inclosures they will keep up for several years, until the Ground becomes so worn, that the Flowers will thrive there no longer, and then the Owners resume their own Lands again.

Hop-Mauls, are Flowers growing upon great Trees, which bear nothing else, they are rarely sweet scented; this is the chief Flower the young people use; and is of greatest value among them.

Chap. VI.

Of their Beasts, Tame and Wild, Insects.

What Beasts the Country produceth.

HAving spoken concerning the Trees and Plants of this Island, We will now go on to speak of the Living Creatures on it, viz. Their Beasts, Insects, Birds, Fish, Serpents, &c. useful or noxious. And we begin first with their Beasts. They have Cowes, Buffaloes, Hogs, Goats, Deer, Hares, Dogs, Jacols, Apes, Tygers, Bears, Elephants, and other Wild Beasts. Lions, Wolves, Horses, Asses, Sheep, they have none. Deer are in great abundance in the [p. 21.] Woods, and of several sorts, from the largeness of a Cow or Buffalo, to the smalness of a Hare. For here is a Creature in this Land no bigger, but in every part rightly resembleth a Deer. It is called Meminna, of colour gray with white spots, and good meat.

Deer no bigger than Hares.

Other Creatures rare in their kind.

Here are also wild Buffalo's; also a sort of Beast they call Gauvera, so much resembling a Bull, that I think it one of that kind. His back stands up with a sharp ridg; all his four feet white up half his Legs. I never saw but one, which was kept among the Kings Creatures. Here was a Black Tygre catched and brought to the King, and afterwards a Deer milk white; both which he very much esteemed; there being no more either before or since ever heard of in that Land.

The way how a Wild Deer was catched.

If any desire to know how this white Deer was caught,

it was thus; This Deer was observed to come on Evenings with the rest of the Herd to a great Pond to drink; the People that were ordered to catch this Deer, fenced the Pond round and plain about it with high stakes, leaving onely one wide gap. The men after this done lay in ambush, each with his bundle of Stakes ready cut. In the Evening the Deer came with the rest of the Herd to drink according to their wont. As soon as they were entred within the stakes, the men in ambush fell to their work, which was to fence in the gap left, which, there being little less than a Thousand men, they soon did; and so all the Herd were easily caught; and this among the rest.

Of their Elephants

The King hath also an Elephant spotted or speckled all the body over, which was lately caught; and tho he hath many and very stately Elephants, and may have as many more as he pleases, yet he prefers this before them all.

The way of catching Elephants.

And since I am fallen upon discourse of the Elephant, the creature that this Countrey is famed for above any in India, I will detain my self a little longer upon it.

I will first relate the manner of taking them, and afterwards their Sagacity, with other things that occur to my memory concerning them. This Beast, tho he be so big and wise, yet he is easily catched. When the King commands to catch Elephants, after they have found them they like, that is such as have Teeth; for tho there be many in the Woods, yet but few have Teeth, and they males onely: unto these they drive some She-Elephants, which they bring with them for the purpose; which when once the males have got a sight of, they will never leave, but follow them wheresoever they go; and the females are so used to it, that they will do whatsoever either by a word or a beck their Keepers bid them; and so they delude them along thro Towns and Countreys, thro the Streets of the City, even to the very Gates of the Kings Palace; Where sometimes they seize upon them by snares, and sometimes by driving them into a kind of Pound, they catch them. After they have brought the Elephant which is not yet caught together with the She, into the Kings presence, if

it likes him not, he commands to let him go; if it does, he appoints him some certain place near unto the City, where they are to drive him with the Females; for without them it is not possible to make him stay; and to keep him in that place until the Kings further order and pleasure is to catch him, which perhaps may not be in two or three or four Years; All which time there are great men with Souldiers appointed to watch there about him: and if he should chance to stray a little out of his bounds set by the [p. 22.] King, immediately they bring him back, fearing the Kings displeasure, which is no less than death it self. Here these Elephants do, and may do, great dammage to the Country, by eating up their Corn, and trampling it with their broad feet, and throwing down their Coker Nut Trees, and oftentimes their Houses too, and they may not resist them. It is thought this is done by the King to punish them that ly under his displeasure. And if you ask what becomes of these Elephants at last; sometimes after they have thus kept watch over them two or three Years, and destroyed the Countrey in this manner, the King will send order to carry them into the Woods, and let them go free. For he catcheth them not for any use or benefit he hath by them, but onely for his recreation and pastime.

The understanding of Elephants. Their Nature.

As he is the greatest in body, so in understanding also. For he will do any thing that his Keeper bids him, which is possible for a Beast not having hands to do. And as the Chingulayes report, they bear the greatest love to their young of all irrational Creatures; for the Shees are alike tender of any ones young ones as of their own: where there are many She Elephants together, the young ones go and suck of any, as well as of their Mothers; and if a young one be in distress and should cry out, they will all in general run to the help and aid thereof; and if they be going over a River, as here be some somewhat broad, and the streams run very swift, they will all with their Trunks assist and help to convey the young ones over. They take great delight to ly and tumble in the water, and will swim excellently well. Their Teeth they never shed.

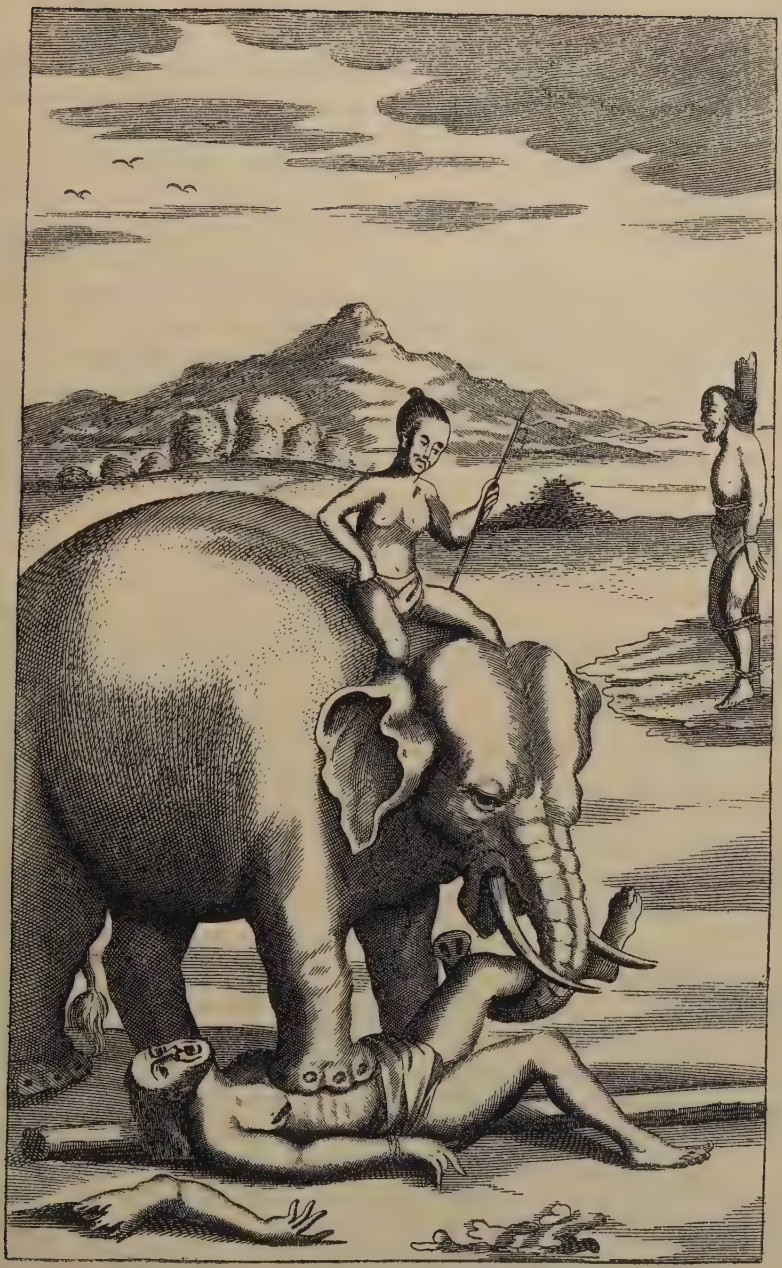
Neither will they ever breed tame ones with tame ones; but to ease themselves of the trouble to bring them meat, they will ty their two fore-feet together, and put them into the Woods, where meeting with the wild ones, they conceive and go one Year with young.

The damage they do. It is their constant practice to shove down with their heads great Trees, which they love to eat, when they be too high, and they cannot otherwise reach the boughs. Wild ones will run much faster than a man, but tame ones not. The People stand in fear of them, and oftentimes are kill'd by them. They do them also great dammage in their Grounds, by Night coming into their Fields and eating up their Corn and likewise their Coker-nut-Trees, &c. So that in Towns near unto the Woods, where are plenty of them, the people are forced to watch their Corn all Night, and also their Ortyards and Plantations; into which being once entred with eating and trampling they will do much harm, before they can get them out. Who oftentimes when by lighting of Torches, and hollowing, they will not go out, take their Bowes and go and shoot them, but not without some hazard, for sometimes the Elephant runs upon them and kills them. For fear of which they will not adventure unless there be Trees, about which they may dodg to defend themselves. And altho here be both Bears and Tygers in these Woods, yet they are not so fierce, as commonly to assault people; Travellers and Way-faring men go more in fear of Elephants than of any other Beasts.

Serve the King for Executing Malefactors. The King makes use of them for Executioners; they will run their Teeth through the body, and then taer it in pieces, and throw it limb from limb. They have sharp Iron with a socket with three edges, which they put on their Teeth at such times; for the Elephants that are kept have all the ends of their Teeth cut to make them grow the better, and they do grow out again.

[p. 23.]

Their Diseases. At some uncertain seasons the males have an infirmity comes on them, that they will be stark mad, so that none can rule them. Many times it so comes to pass that they



An Execution by an Eliphant.

with their Keepers on their backs, run raging until they throw them down and kill them: but commonly there is notice of it before, by an Oyl that will run out of their cheeks, which when that appears, immediately they chain them fast to great Trees by the Legs. For this infirmity they use no Medicine, neither is he sick: but the females are never subject to this.

The Sport they make.

The Keepers of the Kings Elephants sometimes make a sport with them after this manner. They will command an Elephant to take up water, which he does, and stands with it in his Trunk, till they command him to squirt it out at some body, which he immediately will do, it may be a whole paleful together, and with such a force, that a man can hardly stand against it.

Ants of divers sorts.

There are Ants of several sorts, and some worthy our remark.

First of all, there are the Coumbias, a sort of small reddish Ants like ours in England.

Secondly, the Tale-Coumbias, as small as the former but blackish. These usually live in hollow Trees or rotten Wood, and will sting most terribly.

Thirdly, the Dimbios, great red Ants. These make their nests upon the Boughs of great Trees, bringing the Leaves together in clusters, it may be as big as a mans head; in which they lay their Eggs and breed. There will be oftentimes many nests of these upon one Tree, insomuch that the people are afraid to go up to gather the Fruits lest they should be stung by them.

A fourth sort of Ants are those they call Coura-atch. They are great and black, living in the ground. Their daily practice is to bring up dirt out of the ground, making great hollow holes in the Earth, somewhat resembling Cony-Burrows; onely these are less, and run strait downwards for some way, and then turn away into divers paths under ground. In many places of the Land there are so many of these holes, that Cattle are ready to break their Legs as they go. These do not sting.

A fifth is the Coddia. This Ant is of an excellent bright

black, and as large as any of the former. They dwell always in the ground; and their usual practice is, to be travelling in great multitudes, but I do not know where they are going, nor what their business is; but they pass and repass some forwards and some backwards in great hast, seemingly as full of employment as People that pass along the Streets. These Ants will bite desperately, as bad as if a man were burnt with a coal of fire. But they are of a noble nature: for they will not begin; and you may stand by them, if you do not tread upon them nor disturb them. The reason their bite is thus terribly painful is this; Formerly these Ants went to ask a Wife of the Noya, a venomous and noble kind of Snake; and because they had such an high spirit to dare to offer to be related to such a generous creature, they had this vertue bestowed upon them, that they should sting after this manner. And if they had obtained a Wife of the Noya, they should have had the priviledg to have stung full as bad as he. This is a currant Fable among the Chingulays. Tho undoubtedly they chiefly regard the wisedom that is concealed under this, and the rest of their Fables.

How these Coddia's come to sting so terribly.

[p. 24.]

These Ants a very mischievous sort.

There is a sixth sort called Vaeos. These are more numerous than any of the former. All the whole Earth doth swarm with them. They are of a middle size between the greatest and the least, the hinder part white, and the head red. They eat and devour all that they can come at; as besides food, Cloth, Wood, Thatch of Houses and every thing excepting Iron and Stone. So that the people cannot set any thing upon the ground within their houses for them. They creep up the walls of their houses, and build an Arch made of dirt over themselves all the way as they climb, be it never so high. And if this Arch or Vault chance to be broken, they all, how high soever they were, come back again to mend up the breach, which being finished they proceed forwards again, eating every thing they come at in their way. This Vermin does exceedingly annoy the Chingulays, insomuch that they are continually looking upon any thing they value, to see if any of these

Vaeos have been at it. Which they may easily perceive by this Case of dirt, which they cannot go up any where without building as they go. And wheresoever this is seen, no doubt the Ants are there.

The curious Buildings of the Vaeos.

In places where there are no houses, and they can eat nothing belonging to the people, they will raise great Hills like Butts, some four or five or six foot high; which are so hard and strong, that it would be work enough to dig them down with Pick-Axes. The Chingulays call these Humbosses. Within they are full of hollow Vaults and Arches where they dwell and breed, and their nests are much like to Honeycombs, full of eggs and young ones. These Humbosses are built with a pure refined Clay by the ingenious builders. The people use this Clay to make their Earthen Gods of, because it is so pure and fine.

The manner of their death.

This sort of creatures as they increase in multitudes, so they dy in multitudes also. For when they come to maturity they have wings, and in the Evening after the going down of the Sun, (never before) all those that are fledged and ripe, will issue forth in such vast numbers, that they do almost darken the Sky, flying to such an height, as they go out of sight, and so keep flying till they fall down dead at last upon the Earth. The Birds that tarry up late, and are not yet gone to roost, fly among them and make good Suppers of them.

The People in this Land never feed their Poultry. But they feed upon these Ants, which by scraping among the leaves and dirt they can never want; and they delight in them above Rice or any thing else. Besides all these Ants already mentioned, there are divers other distinct sorts of them.

Bees of several kinds.

But we will proceed to a more beneficial Insect, the Bee. Of which there be three sorts. The first are the Mee-masses, which are the right English Bees. They build in hollow Trees, or hollow holes in the ground, which the Vaeos have made. Into which holes the men blow with their mouths, and the Bees presently fly out. And then they put in their hands, and pull out the Combs, which

they put in Pots or Vessels, and carry away. They are not afraid of their stinging in the least, nor do they arm themselves with any cloths against them.

Bees that build on Trees like Birds. [p. 25.]

The second are the Bamburo's, larger and of a brighter colour than our English Bees. Their Honey is thin like water comparatively. They make their Combs upon limbs of Trees, open and visible to the Eye, generally of a great height. At time of year whole Towns, forty or fifty in company together will go out into the Woods, and gather this honey, and come home laden with it for their use.

The third sort they call Connameia, signifying a blind Bee. They are small like a Fly, and black. They build in hollow Trees; and their honey somewhat tartish: and they make such small quantities of it, that the people little regard it. The Boyes will sometimes cut a hole and take it out.

The people eat the Bees, as well as their honey.

When they meet with any swarms of Bees hanging on any Tree, they will hold Torches under to make them drop; and so catch them and carry them home. Which they boyl and eat, and esteem excellent food.

Leaches that ly in the grass, and creep on Travellers Legs.

There is a sort of Leaches of the nature of ours, onely differing in colour and bigness. For they are of a dark reddish colour like the skin of Bacon, and as big as a Goose quill, in length some two or three inches. At first, when they are young, they are no bigger than a horse hair, so that they can scarce be seen. In dry weather none of them appear, but immediately upon the fall of Rains, the Grass and Woods are full of them. These Leaches seize upon the Legs of Travellers; who going barefoot according to the custom of that Land, have them hanging upon their Legs in multitudes, which suck their blood till their bellies are full, and then drop off. They come in such quantities, that the people cannot pull them off so fast as they crawl on. The blood runs pouring down their Legs all the way they go, and 'tis no little smart neither, so that they would willingly be without them if they could, especially those that have sores on their Legs; for they all gather to the sore.

A Wanderow.

Some therefore will tie a piece of Lemon and Salt in a rag and fasten it unto a stick, and ever and anon strike it upon their Legs to make the Leaches drop off: others will scrape them off with a reed cut flat and sharp in the fashion of a knife. But this is so troublesom, and they come on again so fast and so numerous, that it is not worth their while: and generally they suffer them to bite and remain on their Legs during their Journey; and they do the more patiently permit them, because it is so wholsome for them. When they come to their Journeys end they rub all their Legs with ashes, and so clear themselves of them at once: but still the blood will remain dropping a great while after. But they are most annoyed by them when they go out to stool a-Nights, being small and of the colour of their bodies, so that they can neither see nor feel to pull them off. And these, tho they be in such quantities in some of these Countreys, yet in others there are none at all, nor ever were known to have been. But besides these, there are Water Leaches the same with ours. *The remedies they use against them.*

Monkeys. Of which there are abundance in the Woods, and of divers sorts, some so large as our English Spaniel Dogs, of a darkish gray colour, and black faces, with great white beards round from ear to ear, which makes them shew just like old men. There is another sort just of the same bigness, but differ in colour, being milk white both in body and face, having great beards like the others; of this sort of white ones there is not such plenty. But both these sorts do but little mischief, keeping in the Woods, eating onely leaves and buds of Trees, but when they are catched, they will eat any thing. This sort they call in their Language, Wanderows. There is yet another sort of Apes, of which there is great abundance, who coming with such multitudes do a great deal of mischief to the Corn, that groweth in the Woods, so that they are fain all the day long to keep Watch to scare them out: and so soon as they are gone to fray them away at one end of the Field; others who wait for such an opportunity come skipping in at the other; and before they can turn, will [p. 26.] *Apes and Monkeys of divers kinds.*

fill both bellies and hands full, to carry away with them; and to stand all round to guard their Fields is more than they can do. This sort of Monkeys have no beards, white faces, and long hair on the top of their heads, which parteth and hangeth down like a mans. These are so impudent that they will come into their Gardens, and eat such Fruit as grows there. They call these Rillowes. The flesh of all these sorts of Apes they account good to eat. There are several sorts of Squirrels also, which they do eat when they can catch them.

Before I make an end of my discourse of their Beasts, it may be worth while to relate the ways they use to catch them. At which they are very crafty.

How they catch wild Beasts.

For the catching of Deer or other wild Beasts, they have this ingenious device. In dark Moons when there are drisling Rains, they go about this design. They have a basket made with canes somewhat like unto a funnel, in which they put a potsheard with fire in it, together with a certain wood, which they have growing there, full of sap like pitch, and that will burn like a pitch-barrel. This being kindled in the potsheard flames, and gives an exceeding light. They carry it upon their heads with the flame foremost; the basket hiding him that is under it, and those that come behind it. In their hands they carry three or four small bells, which they tingle as they go, that the noyse of their steps should not be heard. Behind the man that carries the light, go men with Bowes and Arrows. And so they go walking along the Plains, and by the Pond sides, where they think the Deer will come out to feed. Which when they see the light, stand still and stare upon it, seeing onely the light, and hearing nothing but the tingling of the bells.

The eyes of the Deer or other Cattle first appear to them glistering like Stars of light or Diamonds: and by their long experience they will distinguish one Beast from another by their eyes. All Creatures, as Deer, Hares, Elephants, Bears, &c. excepting onely wild Hogs, will stand still, wondering at this strange sight, till the people come

A Rillow.

as near as they do desire, and so let fly their Arrows upon them. And by this means they seldom go, but they catch something. The blades of their hunting-Arrowes are at least a foot or a foot and an half long, and the length of the staff of their Arrowes is a Rian, that is about two cubits.

Again, they will observe where a Deers haunt is to break over their Hedges into the Corn Grounds. There they will set a sharp pole like a Spear full against the Haunt. So that the Deer when she leaps over thrusts her self upon the point of it.

If a Tyger chance to come into their Grounds and kill a Cow, they will take notice of the place thro which he passed, and set a Cross-bow there ready charged. The Tyger coming that way again touches something that is fastned to the tricker of the Cross-bow, and so it discharges upon him.

[p. 27.] *How they take the Wild Boar.*

The wild Hog is of all other the hardest to be caught; and 'tis dangerous to attempt the catching of him. For the people make valour to consist in three things, one is to fight against the Enemy, another to hunt the Elephant, and the third to catch Hoggs. Yet sometimes by their art they entrap them. And that they do after this manner. They dig an hole in the Earth of a convenient depth, and fix divers sharp stakes in the bottom of it. Then they cover it over lightly with Earth and Leaves, and plant thereupon roots which the Hog loves, as Potatoes or such like, which will grow there. And the pit remains, it may be some months or half a year, till at last an Hog comes, and while he is rooting his weight betrayes him and in he falls.

Again, sometimes they will set a falling trap of an exceeding weight, and under it plant Roots and such like things, which the Hog delights in. There are contrivances under the weeds and leaves, which when he goes to eat by touching or treading upon something fastned to the trap, it falls down upon him. These are made so artificially, that people sometimes have been caught and destroyed by

them. Once such a trap in my remembrance fell upon three women and killed them. Who having been stealing Cotton in a Plantation, and fearing to be catched went to creep out at a hole, where this Trap stood.

And thus I have related some of their ways of taking wild Cattel. They are good also at catching Birds and Vermin; In fine, they are the cunningest people in the World for such kind of traps and gins. And all of them they make onely by the help of their Knives with green sticks and withs that grow in the Woods. And so much of their Beasts.

Chap. VII.

Of their Birds, Fish, Serpents, Commodities.

Their Birds.

IN the next place I will entertain you with some relation of the other living Creatures among them. I begin with their Birds. In that Land there are Crowes, Sparrowes, Tom-titts, Snipes, just like these in England, Wood-Pigeons also, but not great flocks of any sorts, as we have, onely of Crowes and Pigeons. I have seen there Birds just like Woodcocks and Partridges, but they are scarce. A great many wild Peacocks: small green Parrots, but not very good to talk. But here is another Bird in their Language called Mal-cowda, which with teaching will speak excellently well. It is black with yellow gills about the bigness of a Black-Bird: And another sort there is of the same bigness, called Cau-cowda, yellow like gold, very beautiful to the eye, which also might be taught to speak.

Such as will be taught to speak.

Such as are beautiful for colour.

Here are other sorts of small Birds, not much bigger than a Sparrow, very lovely to look on, but I think good for nothing else: some being in colour white like Snow, and their tayl about one foot in length, and their heads black like jet, with a tuft like a plume of Feathers standing upright thereon. There are others of the same sort onely differing in colour, being reddish like a ripe Orange, and

on the head a Plume of black Feathers standing up. I suppose, one may be the Cock, and the other the Hen.

Here is a sort of Bird they call Carlo, which never lighteth on the ground, but always sets on very high Trees. He is as big as a Swan, the colour black, the Legs very short, the Head monstrous, his Bill very long, a little rounding like a Hawks, and white on each side of the head, like ears: on the top of the crown groweth out a white thing, somewhat like to the comb of a Cock; commonly they keep four or five of them together; and always are hopping from bough to bough. They are seldom silent, but continually make a roaring noyse, somewhat like the quacking of a Duck, that they may be heard at least a mile off; the reason they thus cry, the Chingulayes say, is for Rain, that they may drink. The bodies of these Fowls are good to eat. [p. 28.] *A strange Bird.*

Here is a sort of Bird very much resembling a Duck, but not very plentiful. And another sort of Fowl as big as a Duck, cole black, which liveth altogether upon Fish. It is admirable to see, how long they will remain under water, and at what a distance they will rise again. Besides these, there are many other kinds of Birds, much larger than Swans, which keep about the Ponds and Marshes to catch Fish, but the people eat them not: Nature hath endowed them with an admirable understanding, that they are not to be catched by the Allegators, tho there be many of them in those waters. *Water-Fowls resembling Ducks and Swans.*

The Peacocks in rainy weather are sometimes hunted and caught by Dogs; for their Feathers being wet, they are uncapable of flying far. *Peacocks.*

The King hath Geese, Ducks, Turkeys, Pigeons, which he keeps tame, but none else may. Turkeys he delights not in, because they change the colour of their heads: Neither doth he kill any of these to eat, nor any other creature of what sort soever, and he hath many, that he keeps tame. *The King keeps Fowl.*

They have no want of Fish, and those good ones too. All little Rivers and Streams running thro the Valleys are *Their Fish.*

full of small Fish, but the Boyes and others wanting somewhat to eat with their Rice, do continually catch them before they come to maturity: nay all their Ponds are full of them, which in dry weather drying up, the people catch multitudes of them in this manner. They have a kind of a Basket made of small Sticks, so close that Fish cannot get thro; it is broad at bottom, and narrow at top, like a funnel, the hole big enough for a man to thrust his Arm in, wide at the mouth about two or three foot; these baskets they jobb down, and the ends stick in the mud, which often happen upon a Fish; when they do, they feel it by the Fish beating it self against the sides. Then they put in their hands and take them out. And rieve a Rattan thro their gills, and so let them drag after them. One end of this Rattan is stuck in the fisher's girdle, and the other knotted, that the fish should not slip off: which when it is full, he discharges himself of them by carrying them ashore. Nay every ditch and little plash of water but anckle deep hath fish in it.

How they catch them in Ponds.

The great River, Mavela-gonga, abounds exceedingly with them. Some of them as big as Salmons. But the people have little understanding in the way of taking them. In very dry weather, they stretch a With over the River, which they hang all full of boughs of Trees to scare the Fish. This With thus hung they drag down with the stream, and to Leeward they place Fish-pots between the Rocks, and so drive the Fish into them. Nets or other wayes they have few or none.

How they catch Fish in the River.

[p. 29.]

At a Passage-place near to the City of Candy, the Fish formerly have been nourished and fed by the Kings order, to keep them there for his Majesties pleasure; whither, having used to be thus provided for, notwithstanding Floods and strong Streams, they will still resort: and are so tame, that I have seen them eat out of mens hands; but death it is to them that presume to catch them. The people passing over here, will commonly feed them with some of their Rice, accounting it a piece of charity so to do, and pleasure to see them eat it. In many other places

Fish kept and fed for the Kings pleasure.

also there are Fish thus fed and kept onely for the Kings Recreation: for he will never let any be catched for his use.

Of Serpents, there are these sorts. The Pimberah, the body whereof is as big as a mans middle, and of a length proportionable. It is not swift, but by subtilty will catch his prey; which are Deer or other Cattel; He lyes in the path where the Deer use to pass, and as they go, he claps hold of them by a kind of peg that growes on his tayl, with which he strikes them. He will swallow a Roe Buck whole, horns and all; so that it happens sometimes the horns run thro his belly, and kill him. A Stag was caught by one of these Pimberahs, which seised him by the buttock, and held him so fast, that he could not get away, but ran a few steps this way and that way. An Indian seeing the Stag run thus, supposed him in a snare, and having a Gun shot him; at which he gave so strong a jerk, that it pulled the Serpents head off, while his tayl was encompassing a Tree to hold the Stag the better.

Serpents. The Pimberah of a prodigious bigness.

There is another venomous snake called Polonga, the most venomous of all, that kills Cattel. Two sorts of them I have seen, the one green, the other of a reddish gray, full of white rings along the sides, and about five or six foot long.

The Polonga.

Another poysonous Snake there is called Noya, of a grayish colour, about four foot long. This will stand with half his body upright two or three hours together, and spread his head broad open, where there appears like as it were a pair of spectacles painted on it. The Indians call this Noy-Rodgerah, that is, a Kings-Snake, that will do no harm. But if the Polonga and the Noya meet together, they cease not fighting till one hath kill'd the other.

The Noya.

The reason and original of this fatal enmity between these two Serpents, is this, according to a Fable among the Chingulays. These two chanced to meet in a dry Season, when water was scarce. The Polonga being almost famished for thirst, asked the Noya, where he might go to find a little water. The Noya a little before had met

The Fable of the Noya and Polonga.

with a bowl of water in which a Child lay playing. As it is usual among this people to wash their Children in a bowl of water, and there leave them to tumble and play in it. Here the Noya quenched his thirst, but as he was drinking, the Child that lay in the bowl, out of his innocency and play, hit him on the Head with his hand, which the Noya made no matter of, but bare patiently, knowing it was not done out of any malice: and having drunk as much as sufficed him, went away without doing the Child any harm.

Being minded to direct the Polonga to this bowl, but desirous withal to preserve the Child, he told him, That he knew of water, but that he was such a surly hasty creature, that he was fearful to let him know where it was, lest he might do some mischief; Making him therefore [p. 30.] promise that he would not, he then told him, that at such a place there was a bowl of water with a Child playing in it, and that probably the Child might, as he was tumbling give him a pat on the Head, as he had done to him before, but charged him nevertheless not to hurt the Child. Which the Polonga having promised went his way towards the water, as the Noya had directed him. The Noya knowing his touchy disposition, went after him, fearing he might do the Child a mischief, and that thereby he himself might be deprived of the like benefit afterwards. It fell out as he feared. For as the Polonga drank, the Child patted him on the head, and he in his hasty humour bit him on the hand and killed him. The Noya seeing this, was resolved to be revenged; and so reproaching him for his baseness, fought him so long till he killed him, and after that devoured him. Which to this day they ever do, always fight when they meet, and the Conquerour eats the body of the vanquished. Hence the Proverb among the Chingulayes, when they see two men irreconcileable, they compare them to the Polonga and Noya, and say, Noya Polonga waghe, like a Noya and Polonga.

The Carowala. There is the Carowala, about two foot in length very poysonous, that lurks in the holes and thatch of houses. The Cats will seize these and kill and eat them.

Their manner of Fiſhing

Other Snakes there are, called Gerende, whereof there are many but not venomous. Of the former there are but a few in comparison. These last mentioned the greatest mischief they do, is to destroy young Birds and Eggs, and young Hares. Rabbets cannot be kept here to run wild, because of these and other Vermin, such as Polecats, Ferrets, Weazels, &c. *Gerende.*

Hickanella, much like a Lizzard, venomous, but seldom bites unless provoked, these ly in the thatch of the houses. *Hickanella.*

There is a Spider called Democulo, very long black and hairy, speckled and glistering. Its body is as big as a mans fist with feet proportionable. These are very poysonous; and they keep in hollow Trees and holes. Men bitten with them will not dy, but the pain will for some time put them out of their Sences. *A great Spider.*

Cattle are often bit by some of these Snakes, and as often found dead of them, tho not eaten. Treading upon them sleeping, or the like, may be the cause of it. When the people are bitten by any of these, they are cured by Charms and Medicines, if taken and applyed in time.

There are also a sort of Water Snakes they call Duberria; but harmless.

Alligators may be reduced hither: there be many of them. Of which we have said somewhat before.

There is a Creature here called Kobbera guion, resembling an Alligator. The biggest may be five or six foot long, speckled black and white. He lives most upon the Land, but will take the water and dive under it: hath a long blew forked tongue like a sting, which he puts forth and hisseth and gapeth, but doth not bite nor sting, tho the appearance of him would scare those that knew not what he was. He is not afraid of people, but will ly gaping and hissing at them in the way, and will scarce stir out of it. He will come and eat Carrion with the Dogs and Jackals, and will not be scared away by them, but if they come near to bark or snap at him, with his tayl, which is about an Ell long like a whip, he will so slash them, that they will run away and howl. This Creature is not eatable. *Kobbera-guion, a Creature like an Allegator.* [p. 31.]

Tolla-guion. But there is the Tolla guion very like the former, which is eaten, and reckoned excellent meat. The Chingulays say it is the best sort of flesh; and for this reason, That if you eat other flesh at the same time you eat of this, and have occasion to vomit, you will never vomit out this tho you vomit all the other. This creature eats not carrion, but only leaves and herbs; is less of size than the Kobbera guion, and blackish, lives in hollow Trees and holes in the Humbosses: And I suppose is the same with that which in the West Indies they call the Guiana.

The People eat Rats. This Countrey has its Vermin also. They have a sort of Rats, they call Musk-Rats, because they smell strong of Musk. These the Inhabitants do not eat of, but of all other sort of Rats they do.

Before I conclude my discourse of the Growth and Product of this Countrey, it will not be improper to reduce under this head its Precious Stones, Minerals, and other Commodities. Of which I shall briefly speak, and so make an end of this First Part.

Precious Stones. In this Island are several sorts of Precious Stones, which the King for his part has enough of, and so careth not to have more discovery made. For in certain places where they are known to be, are sharp Poles set up fixed in the ground, signifying, that none upon pain of being stuck and impaled upon those Poles, presume so much as to go that way; Also there are certain Rivers, out of which it is generally reported they do take Rubies and Saphires for the Kings use, and Cats eyes. And I have seen several pretty coloured stones, some as big as Cherry-stones, some as Buttons, and transparent, but understood not what they were. Rubies and Saphires I my self have seen here.

Minerals and other Commodities. Here is Iron and Christal in great plenty. Salt-Petre they can make. Brimstone some say, is here, but the King will not have it discovered. Steel they can make of their Iron. Ebony in great abundance, with choice of tall and large Timber, Cardamums, Jaggory, Rack, Oyl, black Lead, Turmeric, Salt, Rice, Bettel-Nuts, Musk, Wax, Pepper. Which last grows here very well, and might be in

great plenty, if it had a Vend. And the peculiar Commodity of the Island, Cinnamon. Wild Cattel, and wild Honey in great plenty in the Woods; it lyes in holes or hollow Trees, free for any that will take the pains to get it. Elephants Teeth, and Cotton, of which there is good plenty, growing in their own Grounds, sufficient to make them good and strong cloth for their own use, and also to sell to the People of the Uplands, where Cotton is not so plenty. All these things the Land affords, and it might do it in much greater quantity, if the People were but laborious and industrious. But that they are not. For [p. 32.] the Chingulays are Naturally, a people given to sloth and laziness: if they can but any ways live, they abhor to work; onely what their necessities force them to, they do, that is, to get Food and Rayment. Yet in this I must a little vindicate them; For what indeed should they do with more than Food and Rayment, seeing as their Estates encrease, so do their Taxes also? And altho the People be generally covetous, spending but little, scraping together what they can, yet such is the Government they are under, that they are afraid to be known to have any thing, lest it be taken away from them. Neither have they any encouragement for their industry, having no Vend by Traffic and Commerce for what they have got.

The People discouraged from Industry by the Tyranny they are under.

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PART II.

Chap. I.

Of the present King of Cande.

The Government of this Island.

Itherto I have treated of the Countrey, with the Provisions and Wealth of it: Our next Discourses shall be of the Political Government there exercised. And here Order will lead us to speak first of the King and Matters relating to him.

Antiently this Countrey consisted of Nine Kingdoms, all which had their several Kings; but now by the vicissitude of Times and Things, they are all reduced under one King, who is an absolute Tyrant, and Rules the most arbitrarily of any King in the World. We will first speak of him as to his Personal Capacity, and next as to his Political.

In his Personal Capacity, are to be considered his Birth and Parentage, his Person, his Relations, his State, his Manners, his Pleasures and Recreations, his Religion.

The King's Lineage.

Raja-Singa is his Name, which signifies a Lyon-King. He is not of the right Descent of the Royal-Blood. For the former King deceased leaving his Queen a Widow, and two young Princes, which he had issue by her. She was a Christian, having been baptized by the Portuguez, and named Dona Catharina. She afterwards married to the Chief Priest, whom in their Language they call Tirinanxy. And by him had this Son, the present King. The Tirinanx his Father reigned and ruled the Land

during the minority of the young Princes: but being aged, he divided the Countrey between the three Princes by Lot, intending Conde Uda, which is the best part of the Land, for his own Son, Raja-Singa. Which was obtained by this device. The names of the three Kingdoms being written on three Papers, were put into a Pot, and one was appointed, who knew the matter to take them out, and deliver them one to each, beginning with the Eldest, craftily delivering that which had Conde Uda written in it unto Raja-Singa; and so it came to pass according to the old Kings determination. All these three in the beginning of their Reigns joyned together against the Portuguez, but soon after fell out among themselves, and this King in the end prevailed, and got all the Countrey. Danna Polla Rodgerah the youngest, King of Mautoly, being overthrown, fled down to the Portuguez to Columba, who sent him to Goa, where he dyed. The other named Comaure-Singa, King of Owvah, dyed in Cande.

His Person, Meen, and Habit.

As to the Person of the present King. He is not tall, but very well set, nor of the clearest colour of their complexion, but somewhat of the blackest; great rowling Eyes, turning them and looking every way, alwayes moving them: a brisk bold look, a great swelling Belly, and very lively in his actions and behaviour, somewhat bald, not having much hair upon his head, and that gray, a large comely Beard, with great Whiskers; in conclusion, a very comely man. He bears his years well, being [p. 34.] between Seventy and Eighty years of age; and tho an Old man, yet appears not to be like one, neither in countenance nor action. His Apparel is very strange and wonderful, not after his own Countrey-fashion, or any other, being made after his own invention. On his head he wears a Cap with four corners like a Jesuits three teer high, and a Feather standing upright before, like that in the head of a fore-horse in a Team, a long band hanging down his back after the Portuguez fashion, his Doublet after so strange a shape, that I cannot well describe it, the body of

one, and the sleeves of another colour; He wears long Breeches to his Anckles, Shoes and Stockings. He doth not always keep to one fashion, but changes as his fancy leads him: but always when he comes abroad, his Sword hangs by his side in a belt over his shoulder: which no Chingulays dare wear, only white men may: a Gold Hilt, and Scabberd most of beaten Gold. Commonly he holdeth in his hand a small Cane, painted of divers colours, and towards the lower end set round about with such stones, as he hath, and pleaseth, with a head of Gold.

His Queen, and Children.

His right and lawful Queen, who was a Malabar, brought from the Coast, is still living, but hath not been with him, as is known, this Twenty years, remaining in the City of Cande, where he left her; She wants indeed neither maintenance nor attendance, but never comes out of the Palace. Several Noble-mens Daughters hold Land for this Service, viz. to come to her Court in their turns to wait upon her Majesty. She bare him a Prince, but what became of him, shall hereafter be shewn. He had also a Daughter by Her, she came also in her Youth to a piteous and unfortunate death, as I shall relate in its place.

His Palace, Situation and Description of it.

He keeps his Court at Digligy neur, whither he fled in a Rebellion against him. His Palace stands adjoyning to a great Hill, which was before mentioned; near unto that part of the Hill next abutting upon his Court none dares presume to set his foot: that being for his safeguard to fly unto in time of need. The Palace is walled about with a Clay Wall, and Thatched, to prevent the Claye's being melted by the Rains, which are great and violent: Within this Wall it is all full of houses; most of which are low and thatched; but some are two Stories high, and tyled very handsomely, with open Galleries for Air, rayled about with turned Banisters, one Ebony, and one painted, but not much Prospect, standing between two Hills. And indeed the King lives there not so much for pleasure as security. The Palace it self hath many large and stately Gates two leaved; these Gates, with their Posts, excellently carved; the Iron-work thereunto belonging, as Bolts and

Locks, all rarely engraven. The Windows inlayd with Silver Plates and Ebony. On the top of the houses of his Palace and Treasury, stand Earthen Pots at each corner; which are for ornament; or which is a newer fashion, something made of Earth resembling Flowers and Branches. And no Houses besides, except Temples, may have these placed upon them. The contrivance of his Palace is, as I may say, like Woodstock Bower, with many turnings and windings, and doors, he himself having ordered and contrived all these Buildings, and the manner of them. At all the Doors and Passages stand Watches: and they who thus give attendance are not to pass without special Order from one place to another, but are to remain in that place or at that Gate, where the King hath appointed them. By means of these contrivances it is not easie to know in what part or place his Person is, neither doth he care they should. [p. 35.]

Strong Guaras about his Court.

He has strong Watches night and day about his Court. And they are his Grandees, who themselves in person watch in certain places, where the King himself appoints them: and they dare not be absent from thence, without it be to go to eat, or upon such like occasions. At Night they all have their set places within the Court, where they cannot one come to the speech of the other, neither dare they that are near together, or in sight one of the other, so much as come and sit together and talk, to pass away the Nights. All these great men have Souldiers under them, and they are also to come by turns to watch at the Court. But at Night as their Masters and Commanders watch within the Walls, so they must watch without, in outward Courts and Guards; neither dare any of them be seen within with their Commanders. At the end of every Watch there are a multitude of Trumpets and Drums to make a noise; which is to keep his People waking, and for the honour of his Majesty. There are also Elephants, which are appointed all night to stand and watch, lest there should be any Tumult; which if there should, could presently trample down a multitude.

Next his own Person Negro's watch.

He hath also a Guard of Cofferies or Negro's, in whom he imposeth more confidence, then in his own People. These are to watch at his Chamber door, and next his Person.

Spies sent out a Nights.

At uncertain times he will send out a Spy by Night, to see what Watch is kept. Who once finding one of the Great Men asleep, took his Cap, his Sword and other Arms, and brought them to the King; who afterwards restored them to the Owner again, reproving him, and bidding him take more heed for the future. These Spyes also are to hear and see what passes: neither is there any thing said or done but he has notice of it. Formerly he used in the Nights to disguise himself and walk abroad in the Streets to see all passages, but now he will not adventure so to do.

His attendants.

Most of his Attendants are Boyes, and Young Men, that are well favoured, and of good Parentage. For the supplying himself with these, he gives order to his Dissava's or Governors of the Countreys to pick and choose out Boyes, that are comely and of good Descent, and send them to the Court. These Boyes go bare-headed with long hair hanging down their backs. Not that he is guilty of Sodomy, nor did I ever hear the Sin so much as mentioned among them.

Handsom women belong to his Kitchin.

He hath many Women belonging to his Kitchin, choosing to have his Meat dressed by them. Several times he hath sent into the Countreys a Command to gather handsome young Women of the Chingulayes to recruit his Kitchin, with no exceptions whether married or unmarried: and those that are chosen for that Service never return back again. Once since my being on the Land, all the Portuguez Women that were young and white were sent for to the Court, no matter whether Maids or Wives; where some remained until now, and some that were not amiable in his sight were sent home; and some having purchased his displeasure were cast into a River, which is his manner of executing Women. And some sent Prisoners in the Countrey, none being admitted to speech or sight of them.

Rajah Singah the King of Ceylon

Concubines he keepeth not many. Some are within his Palace. And those whose Office is about his Kitchin are reported to be so; which is not improbable, seeing he admits none but them that are young and very handsom to the imployment. Other of his women dwell in Towns near to the City. Into which no Stranger is permitted to go, nay it is dangerous to approach near. These Towns have this Priviledg, that if any Slave flee from his Master and come hither, he is safe and free from his Masters service, but still remains a Slave there to them. [p. 36.]

His Women, and the Priviledg of the Towns where they live.

Sometimes he walketh about his Palace, where there are certain Pedestalls of Stone whitened with Lime and laid in Oyl, so that they look purely white, made and set up in divers places, here he stands when he comes forth, that he might be above the rest of the People, and see about him. But when he is minded to go abroad, though it be never so little a way, and he seldom or never goes far, Order is given some time before, for all Soldiers of his Guards which are a great many, it may be Thousands, together with a Dutch and Portugal Captain with their Flags and Soldiers, Drummers, Trumpeters, Pipers, Singers, and all belonging, as Elephants, Horses, Falkeners with their Faulkons, and many others, to stand at the Gate in a readiness to attend his pleasure. And tho he means not to come forth, yet they must wait in this manner, until he give order, that they may depart to their houses. Commonly all this assembly are gathered together at the Palace three or four times before he comes out once. And oftentimes he comes out when none there are aware of it, with only those that attend on his person within his Palace. And then when it is heard, that his Majesty is come forth, they all run ready to break their necks, and place themselves at a distance to Guard his Person and wait his pleasure. Sometimes, but very seldom, He comes forth riding upon an Horse or Elephant. But usually he is brought out in a Pallenkine; which is nothing so well made as in other parts of India. The ends of the Bambou it is carried by, are largely tipped with Silver, and curiously

His State when he walks in his Palace; or goes abroad.

wrought and engraven: for he hath very good workmen of that profession.

The place where he goeth when he comes thus abroad, is to a Bankqueting-house built by a Pond side, which he has made. It is not above a Musquet shot from his Palace. Where he goeth for his diversion. Which I shall by and by more particularly relate.

His reception of Embassadors.

Another instance of his State and Grandure will appear in his reception of Ambassadors. Who are received with great honour and Show. First he sends several of his great men to meet them with great Trains of Soldiers, the ways all cut broad, and the grass pared away for many miles: Drums and Trumpets, and Pipes, and Flags going before them, Victuals and all sorts of varieties are daily brought to them, and continue to be so all the time they are in the Land, and all at free-cost. For the Custom here is, Ambassadors, stay they never so long, are maintained at the Kings Cost and Charges. And being in the City, have their Victuals brought them out from the Kings Palace, ready dressed. Presents, Goods or whatsoever they please to bring with them, the King prepareth men to carry. And when they are come to the House that is prepared for them, which is hung top and sides with white Callico, they are kept under a Guard, and great Commanders with Soldiers appointed to watch at their Gates, which is accounted for a great honour. But these Guards dare not permit any to come to the Speech of them, for the King careth not that any should talk with Ambassadors, but himself, with whom he taketh great delight to have conference, and to see them brought before him in fine Apparrel, their Swords by their sides with great State and Honour, and that the Ambassadors may see and take notice of the greatness of his Majesty. And after they have been there some times, he gives them both Men and handsom young Maids for their Servants, to attend and also to accompany them: often causing them to be brought into his presence to see his Sports and Pastimes, and not caring to send them away; but in a very familiar manner entertaining discourse with them.

[p. 37.]

His delight in them.

Chap. II.

Concerning the King's Manners, Vices, Recreation, Religion.

Nder the Consideration of his Manners, will fall his Temperance, his Ambition and Pride, his Policy and Dissimulation, his cruel and bloody Disposition.

Sparing in his Dyet.

He is temperate both in his Diet and his Lust. Of the former, I am informed by those that have attended on his Person in his Palace, that though he hath all sorts of Varieties the Land affords brought to his Table, yet his chief fare is Herbs, and ripe pleasant Fruits: and this but once a day. Whatsoever is brought for him to eat or drink is covered with a white cloath, and whoever brings it, hath a Mufler tyed about his mouth, lest he should breath upon the Kings Food. The Kings manner of eating is thus. He sits upon a Stool before a small Table covered with a white cloath, all alone. He eats on a green Plantane-Leaf laid in a Gold Bason. There are twenty or thirty Dishes prepared for him, which are brought into his Dining-Room. And which of these Dishes the King pleases to call for, a Nobleman appointed for that service, takes a Portion of and reaches in a Ladle to the Kings Bason. This person also waits with a mufler about his mouth.

After what manner he Eats.

Chast himself, and requires his Attendants to be so.

And as he is abstemious in his eating, so in the use of women. If he useth them 'tis unknown and with great secrecy. He hath not had the Company of his Queen this twenty years, to wit, since he went from Candy, where he left her. He allowes not in his Court Whoredom or Adultery; and many times when he hears of the misdemeanors of some of his Nobles in regard of women, He not only Executes them, but severely punisheth the women, [p. 38.] if known: and he hath so many Spyes, that there is but little done, which he knows not of. And often he gives Command to expel all the women out of the City, not one to

remain. But by little and little when they think his wrath is appeas'd, they do creep in again. But no women of any Quality dare presume, and if they would, they cannot, the Watches having charge given them not to let them pass. Some have been taken concealed under mans Apparel, and what became of them all may judg, for they never went home again. Rebellion does not more displease this King, then for his Nobles to have to do with women. Therefore when any are admitted to his Court to wait upon him, they are not permitted to enjoy the Company of their Wives, no more then any other women. Neither hath he suffered any for near this twenty years to have their Wives in the City, except Slaves or inferior servants.

He committed Incest, but such as was allowable.

Indeed he was once guilty of an Act, that seemed to argue him a man of most unbridled Lust. For he had a Daughter that was with Child by himself: but in Childbed both dyed. But this manner of Incest is allowable in Kings, if it be only to beget a right Royal Issue, which can only be gotten that way. But in all other 'tis held abominable, and severely punished. And here they have a common and usual Proverb, None can reproach the King nor the Beggar. The one being so high, that none dare; the other so low, that nothing can shame or reproach them.

His Pride.

His Pride and affectation of honour is unmeasurable. Which appears in his Peoples manner of Address to him, which he either Commands or allows of. When they come before him they fall flat down on their Faces to the Ground at three several times, and then they sit with their legs under them upon their Knees all the time they are in his presence: And when he bids them to absent, they go backwards, untill they are out of his sight, or a great distance from him. But of Christian People indeed he requires no more then to kneel with their Hats off before him.

How the people Address to the King.

They give him divine worship.

Nay, He takes on him all the Ceremonies and Solemnities of Honour, which they shew unto their Gods; making his account that as he is now their King, so hereafter he shall be one of their Gods. And the People did call him God. Formerly since my being on that Land, he used not to

come out of his Palace into the sight of the People but very seldom out of State and Haughtiness of Spirit; but now of later times he comes forth daily. And altho he be near fourscore years of age, yet his greatest delight is in Honour and Majesty, being most pleased with high and windy Titles given him. Such as Mauhawaul, a Phrase importing Greatness, but not expressible in our Language. Hondrewné Boudouind, Let your Majesty be a God. When the King speaks to them, they answer him at every period, Oiboa, many Lives. Baula Gaut, the limb of a Dog, speaking to the King of themselves: yet now of late times since here happened a Rebellion against him, he fears to assume to himself the Title of God; having visibly seen and almost felt, that there is a greater power then His ruling on Earth, which set the hearts of the People against Him: and so hath given command to prophane that great Name no more, by ascribing it to him.

Pleased with high Titles.

In Anno 1675, one of the Kings greatest and most Valiant Generals, and that had been notably successful against the Dutch, had done many pieces of good service for the King, expelled the Hollanders out of several Forts, taking and killing many of them, this man the King was jealous of, and did resolve to take away his Head as a reward of his Valour; which he had some private Intelligence of, and so Fled, being then in Camp against the Dutch, and got to Columba with his wife and goods. By which the King had an invaluable Loss. Yet the King out of the height of his Stomach, seemed not in the least to be vexed thereat, neither did he regard it; as if it were beneath the quality of such a Monarch to be moved with such a Trifle. But sent down another General in his place; And as for the house and estate of him that Fled, and whatsoever he left behind him, he let it lye and rot, scorning to esteem or regard it.

[p. 39.]

An instance or two of the King's haughty stomach.

He slights the defection of one of his best Generals.

To give you an Instance or two more of this Princes Spirit. At the time of New-year, all his Subjects, high and low, do bring him certain Presents, or rather Taxes, each one a certain rate; which formerly he used constantly

He scorns to receive his Revenues.

to take, but of late years, He so abounds with all things, continually putting into his Treasury, and but seldom taking out, and that but little, that he thinks scorn to receive these his due revenues, least his people should think it were out of necessity and want. Nevertheless the Great Men still at the New-year, bring their Presents day after day before the King at his coming forth, hoping it will please him to accept them, but now of many years he receives them not. His mind is so haughty, that he scorns to seem to value any thing in the world. When tydings are sometimes brought him, that the Dutch have made an Invasion into his Countrey, although he be well able to expel them, he will not so much as regard it.

The Dutch serve their ends upon his Pride by flattering him.

The Dutch knowing his Proud Spirit make their advantage of it, by Flattering him with their Ambassadors, telling him that they are his Majesties humble Subjects and Servants; and that it is out of their Loyalty to him, that they build Forts, and keep Watches round about his Countrey, to prevent Forraign Nations and Enemies from coming. And that as they are thus imployed in his Majesties service, so it is for sustenance, which they want, that occasioned their coming up into his Majesties Countrey. And thus by Flattering him, and ascribing to him High and Honourable Titles, which are things he greatly delights in, some times they prevail to have the Countrey (they have invaded,) and he to have the Honour. Yet at other times, upon better Consideration, he will not be Flattered, but falls upon them at unawares, and does them great damage.

The people give way to the King's foul cloths.

Such a Veneration does he expect from the People, that whatsoever things are carrying to him which are known by the white Cloath they are wrapt up in, all persons meeting them turn out of the way: not excepting the Kings foul Cloaths. For when they are carried to washing (which is daily) all even the greatest rise up, as they come by, which is known by being carried on an hand heaved upwards, covered with a Painted cloth.

His natural abilities, and deceitful temper.

He is crafty, cautious, a great dissembler, nor doth he

want wisdom. He is not passionate in his anger. For with whomsoever he be angry, he will not shew it: neither is he rash or over-hasty in any matters, but doth all things [p. 40.] with deliberation, tho but with little advise: asking Counsel of no body but himself. He accounts it Wit and Policy to lie and dissemble, that his intents and purposes may the better be concealed; but he abhorreth and punisheth those that lie to him.

His wise saying concerning Runnawayes.

Dutch Runnawayes, whereof there are several come to him, he saith are Rogues that either have robbed or killed, or else would never run away from their own Nation. And tho he receiveth them, yet esteemeth them not.

Naturally cruel.

He seems to be naturally disposed to Cruelty: For he sheds a great deal of blood, and gives no reason for it. His Cruelty appears both in the Tortures and Painful deaths he inflicts, and in the extent of his punishments, viz. upon whole Families for the miscarriage of one in them. For when the King is displeased with any, he does not alwayes command to kill them outright, but first to torment them, which is done by cutting and pulling away their flesh by Pincers, burning them with hot Irons clapped to them to make them confess of their Confederates; and this they do, to rid themselves of their Torments, confessing far more than ever they saw or knew. After their Confession, sometimes he commands to hang their two Hands about their Necks, and to make them eat their own flesh, and their own Mothers to eat of their own Children; and so to lead them thro the City in public view to terrifie all, unto the place of Execution, the Dogs following to eat them. For they are so accustomed to it, that they seeing a Prisoner led away, follow after. At the place of Execution, there are alwayes some sticking upon Poles, others hanging up in quarters upon Trees; besides, what lyes killed by Elephants on the ground, or by other ways. This place is alwayes in the greatest High-way, that all may see and stand in awe. For which end this is his constant practice.

The dogs follow Prisoners to execution.

The Kings Prisoners, their Misery.

Moreover, he hath a great many Prisoners, whom he

keepeth in Chains, some in the common Gaol, some committed to the custody of Great Men; and for what or for how long time none dare enquire. Commonly they ly thus two, four or six years; and some have Victuals given them, and some not having it, must ask leave to go out and beg with a Keeper. It is according as the King appoints, when they are committed. Or some of them being driven to want do get food by work, such as, sewing, making Caps, Doublets, Purses. This coming once to the Kings Ears, he said, I put them there to torment and punish them, not to work and be well maintained; and so commanded to take away their Sizzars and Needles from them. Yet this lasted not long, for afterwards they fell to their work again. Those that have been long there are permitted to build little Shops on the Street side against the Prison, and to come out in the day time, and sell their work as they make it; but in the Night time are shut up again.

When the Streets are to be swept about the Palace, they make the Prisoners come out in their Chains, and do it.

And after all their Imprisonment, without any examination, they are carried forth and executed: and these not only the common sort, but even the greatest and most nobly descended in the Land: For with whom he is displeased, he maketh no difference.

He punishes whole generations for the sake of one.

Nor is his wrath appeased by the Execution of the Malefactor, but oftentimes he punisheth all his Generation; it may be kills them alltogether, or gives them all away for Slaves.

[p. 41.] *The sad condition of young Gentlemen that wait on his Person.*

Thus he often deals with those, whose Children are his Attendants. I mentioned before, that young Men of the best Families in the Land, are sought out to wait upon the King in his Court. These after they have served here some small time, and have as it were but seen the Court, and known his Customs and Manners, he requiteth them by cutting off their Heads, and putting them into their Bellies: other faults none do know. Heretofore, as it is reported, he was not so Cruel, but now none escapes, that serves in his Palace. Then he recruits his Slain out of

One Impaled on a Stake.

the Countries, by giving Orders to his Dissava's or Governors to send him others to Court. Whither they go like an Ox to the Slaughter, but with far more heavy hearts. For both they and their Parents full well know what end the King's honorable Service will bring them to. Howbeit there is no remedy. Being thus by Order sent unto the Court, their own Parents must provide for and maintain them, until the King is pleased to call them to his Use, which it may be will not be in some years. Sometimes it happens, that the Boys thus brought, before the King makes use of them about his Person, are grown too big, and so escape. But those that are employed in the Palace, enjoy this favour, That all such Taxes, Customs, or other Duties belonging to the King, which their Fathers were wont to pay, are released, until such time as they are discharged from the King's Employment; which is always either by Execution, or by being given to somebody for perpetual Bondmen. During the time of the King's favour, he is never admitted to go home to Visit his Parents and Friends. The Malekind may come to see him, but no Women are admitted, be it his Mother that bare him. And after he is killed, tho' for what no man knows, he is accounted a Rebel and Traitor against the King: and then his Father's House, Land and Estate is seized on for the King. Which after some time by giving of Fees and Gifts to the great ones, they do redeem again: And sometimes the whole Family and Generation perish, as I said before. So that after a Lad is taken into the King's Palace, his Kindred are afraid to acknowledge Alliance to him. But these matters may more properly be related, when we come to speak of his Tyranny.

His Pleasure Houses.

Sometimes for his Pleasure, he will ride or be carried to his Banquetting-House, which is about a Musquet-shot from his Palace. It stands on a little Hill; where with abundance of pains and many Months labour, they have made a little Plain, in length not much above an Arrows flight, in breadth less. Where at the head of a small Valley, he hath made a Bank cross to stop the Water run-

ning down. It is now become a fine Pond, and exceeding full of Fish. At this Place the King hath several Houses built according to his own appointment very handsom, born up with carved Pillars and Painted, and round about Rails and Banisters turned, one Painted and one Ebony, like Balconie. Some standing high upon a Wall, being for him to sit in, and see Sport with his Elephants, and other Beasts, as also for a Prospect abroad. Others standing over this Pond, where he himself sits and feedeth his Fish with boiled Rice, Fruits and Sweet-meats. They are so tame that they will come and eat in his hand; but never doth he suffer any to be catch'd. This Pond is useful for his Elephants to wash in. The Plain was made for his Horses to run upon. For oftentimes he commands his Grooms [p. 42.] to get up and ride in his Presence; and sometimes for that good Service, gives the Rider five or ten Shillings, and it may be a piece of Cloath. Always when he comes forth, his Horses are brought out ready saddled before him; but he himself mounts them very seldom. All of which he had from the Dutch, some sent to him for Presents, and some he hath taken in War. He hath in all some twelve or fourteen: some of which are Persian Horses.

His Pastimes abroad.

Other Pastimes and Recreations he hath (for this is all he minds or regards.) As to make them bring wild Elephants out of the Woods, and catch them in his Presence. The manner how they get them unto the City, I have mentioned already. Also when he comes out of his Court, he Delights to look upon his Hawks, altho' he never use them for his Game; sometimes on his Dogs, and tame Deer, and Tygers, and strange kind of Birds and Beasts; of both which he hath a great many. Also he will try his Guns, and shoot at Marks, which are excellently true, and rarely inlay'd with Silver, Gold, and Ivory. For the Smiths that make them dare not present them to his hand, not having sufficiently proved them. He hath Eight or Nine small Iron Cannon, lately taken from the Dutch, which he hath mounted in Field-Carriages, all rarely carved, and inlay'd with Silver and Brass, and coloured Stones, set in

convenient places, and painted with Images and Flowers. But the Guns disgrace the Carriages. He keeps them in an House on the Plain. Upon some Festival times he useth them. I think, they are set there chiefly for a Memorial of his late Victories: For he hath many, and far better Guns of Brass that are not so regarded.

His Diversion at home.

In his Palace he passeth his time with looking upon certain Toyes and Fancies that he hath, and upon his Arms and Guns, calling in some or other of his great Men to see the same, asking them if they have a Gun will shoot further than that: and how much Steel such a Knife, as he will shew them, needs to have in it. He takes great delight in Swimming, in which he is very expert. And the Custom is, when he goes into the Water, that all his Attendance that can Swim must go in likewise.

His Religion.

And now lastly for his Religion, you cannot expect much from him. Of the Religion of his Countrey he makes but a small Profession; as perceiving that there is a greater God, than those that they thro long custom, have and do Worship. And therefore when an Impostor, a Bastard Moor by Nation, born in that Land came and publickly set up a new nameless God, as he styled him; and that he was sent to destroy the Temples of their Gods, the King opposed it not for a good while, as waiting to see which of these Gods would prevail, until he saw that he aimed to make himself King, then he allowed of him no longer: as I shall shew more at large hereafter: when I come to speak of the Religion of the Countrey.

How he stands affected to the Christian Religion.

The Christian Religion, he doth not in the least persecute, or dislike, but rather as it seems to me, esteems and honours it. As a sign of which take this passage. When his Sister died, for whom he had a very dear Affection, there was a very grievous Mourning and Lamentation made for her throughout the whole Nation: all Mirth and Feasting laid aside, and all possible signs of sorrow exprest: and in all probability, it was as much as their lives were worth, who should at this time do any thing, that might look like joy. This was about Christmas. The Dutch [p. 43.]

did notwithstanding adventure to keep their Christmas by Feasting. The News of this was brought to the King. And every body reckoned it would go hard with the Dutch for doing this. But because it was done at a Festival of their Religion, the King past it by, and took no notice of it. The Value also that he has for the Christian Religion, will appear from the respect he gives the Professors of it; as will be seen afterwards.

Chap. III.

Of the King's Tyrannical Reign.

EE have all this while considered this King, with respect unto his Person, Temper, and Inclinations, now we will speak of him with more immediate respect unto his Office, and Government, as he is a King. And here we will discourse of the manner of his Government, of his Treasure and Revenues, of his Great Officers, and lastly, of his Strength and Wars.

His Government Tyrannical.

As to the manner of his Government, it is Tyrannical and Arbitrary in the highest degree: For he ruleth Absolute, and after his own Will and Pleasure: his own Head being his only Counsellor. The Land all at his Disposal, and all the People from the highest to the lowest Slaves, or very like Slaves: both in Body and Goods wholly at his Command. Neither wants He those three Virtues of a Tyrant, Jealousie, Dissimulation, and Cruelty.

His Policy.

But because Policy is a necessary endowment of a Prince, I will first shew in an instance or two, that he is not devoid of it.

He Farms out his Countrey for Service.

The Countrey being wholly His, the King Farms out his Land, not for Money, but Service. And the People enjoy Portions of Land from the King, and instead of Rent, they have their several appointments, some are to serve the King in his Wars, some in their Trades, some serve him for Labourers, and others are as Farmers to

furnish his House with the Fruits of the Ground; and so all things are done without Cost and every man paid for his pains: that is, they have Lands for it; yet all have not watered Land enough for their needs, that is, such Land as good Rice requires to grow in; so that such are fain to sow on dry Land, and Till other mens Fields for a subsistence. These Persons are free from payment of Taxes; only sometimes upon extraordinary occasions, they must give an Hen or Mat or such like, to the King's use: for as much as they use the Wood and Water that is in his Countrey. But if any find the Duty to be heavy, or too much for them, they may leaving their House and Land, be free from the King's Service, as there is a Multitude do. And in my judgment they live far more at ease, after they have relinquished the King's Land, than when they had it.

Many Towns are in the King's hand, the Inhabitants whereof are to Till and Manure a quantity of the Land according to their Ability, and lay up the Corn for the King's use. These Towns the King often bestows upon some of his Nobles for their Encouragement and Maintenance, with all the fruits and benefits that before came to the King from them. In each of these Towns there is a [p. 44.] Smith to make and mend the Tools of them to whom the King hath granted them, and a Potter to fit them with Earthen Ware, and a Washer to wash their Cloaths, and other men to supply what there is need of. And each one of these hath a piece of Land for this their Service, whether it be to the King or the Lord; but what they do for the other People they are paid for. Thus all that have any Place or Employment under the King, are paid without any Charge to the King.

His Policy to secure himself from Assassination or Rebellion.

His great Endeavour is to Secure himself from Plots and Conspiracies of his People, who are sorely weary of his tyrannical Government over them, and do often Plot to make away with him; but by his subtilty and good fortune together, he prevents them. And for this purpose he is very Vigilant in the Night: the noise of Trumpets and

Drums, which he appoints at every Watch, hinders both himself and all others from sleeping. In the Night also he commonly does most of his Business, calling Embassadors before him, and reading the Letters; also displacing some of his Courtiers, and promoting others, and giving Sentence to execute those whom he would have to live no longer; and many times Commands to lay hold on and carry away great and Noble men, who until that instant knew not that they were out of his favour.

Another point of his Policy.

His Policy is to make his Countrey as intricate and difficult to Travel as may be, and therefore forbids the Woods to be felled, especially those that divide Province from Province, and permits no Bridges to be made over his Rivers: nor the Paths to be made wider.

Another, which is to find his People work to do.

He often employs his People in vast works, and that will require years to finish, that he may inure them to Slavery, and prevent them from Plotting against him, as haply they might do if they were at better leisure. Therefore he approves not that his People should be idle; but always finds one thing or other to be done, tho the work be to little or no purpose. According to the quantity of the work, so he will appoint the People of one County or of two to come in: and the Governor of the said County or Counties to be Overseer of the Work. At such times the Soldiers must lay by their Swords, and work among the People. These works are either digging down Hills, and carrying the Earth to fill up Valleys; thus to enlarge his Court, which standeth between two Hills, (a more uneven and unhandsom spot of ground, he could not well have found in all his Kingdom); or else making ways for the Water to run into the Pond, and elsewhere for his use in his Palace. Where he hath it running thro in many places unto little Ponds made with Lime and Stone, and full of Fish.

A vast work undertaken and finished by the King.

To bring this Water to his Palace, was no small deal of labour. For not having a more convenient way, they were forced to split a great Mountain in twain to bring the Water thro, and after that to make a Bank cross a Valley far above

a Cables length, and in height above four Fathom, with thickness proportionable to maintain it, for the Water to run over the top. Which at first being only Earth, the Water would often break down; but now both bottom and sides are paved and wrought up with Stone. After all this, yet it was at least four or five Miles to bring this Water in a Ditch; and the ground all Hills and Valleys, so that they were forced to turn and wind, as the Water would [p. 45.] run. Also when they met with Rocks which they could not move, as this Ground is full of them, they made great Fires with Wood upon it, until it was soundly hot; and hereby it became so soft, that they could easily break it with Mawls.

The turning this water did great injury to the People.

This Water was that which nourished that Countrey, from whence it was taken. The People of which ever since have scarce been able to Till their Land. Which extremity did compel the People of those Parts to use a means to acquaint the King how the Countrey was destroyed thereby, and disabled from performing those Duties and Services, which they owed unto the King; and that there was Water sufficient both for His Majestie's Service, and also to relieve their Necessities. Which the King took very ill from them, as if they would seem to grudge him a little Water. And sure I am, woe be to him, that should mention that matter again.

But he little regards his Peoples good.

So far is he from regarding the good of his Countrey, that he rather endeavours the Destruction thereof. For issue he hath none alive, and e're long, being of a great Age Nature tells him, he must leave it. Howbeit no love lost between the King and his People. Yet he daily contriveth and buildeth in his Palace like Nebuchadnezzar, wet and dry, day and night, not showing the least sign of Favour to his People. Who oftentimes by such needless Imployments, are Letted from the seasonable times of Ploughing and Harvest, to their great prejudice, and sometimes utter undoing.

The King by craft at once both pleased and punished his People.

After the Rebellion, when the People that lived at a further distance, saw that the King intended to settle him-

self near the Mountain to which he fled, Viz. Digligy, and not to come into the old City again, it being very troublesom and tedious to bring their Rents and Taxes thither, they all jointly met together, being a great number, and sent an Address to intimate their Desires to him; which was with great Submission, That His Majesty would not leave them destitute of his Presence, which was to them as the Sun, that he would not absent himself from them to dwell in a Mountain in a desolate Countrey; but seeing there was no further danger, and all the Rebels destroyed, that he would return to his old Palace again, vowing all Fidelity to him. The King did not like this Message, and was somewhat afraid there being such a tumultuous Company met together, and so thought not fit to drive them away, or publickly to declare his displeasure at them; but went to work like a Polititian. Which was to tell them that he thanked them for their love and affection towards him; and that he was desirous to dwell among them in such a part of their Countrey as he named: and so bad them all go to work to build him a Palace there. The People departed with some Satisfaction, and fell to work might and main: and continued at it for near two years together, felling Timber, and fetching it out of the Woods, laying Foundations, hewing Stone, till they were almost killed with labour. And being wrought quite tyred, they began to accuse and grumble at one another for having been the occasion of all this toil. After they had laboured thus a long while, and were all discouraged, and the People quiet, the King sent word to them to leave off. And now it lies unfinished, all the Timber brought in, rots upon the place, and the building runs to ruin.

In what labours he employs his People. [p. 46.]

And this is the manner how he employs his People; pulling down and building up again, equalling unequal grounds, making sinks under ground for the passage of water thro' his Palace, dragging of great Trees out of the Wood to make Pounds to catch Elephants in his Presence; altho' they could catch them with far less labour, and making houses to keep them in, after they are taken.

A.D. 1681.

He stands not upon any Villainy to establish himself, or strike terror into his People. This made him cut off his only Son, a young man of about Fifteen years. After the Rebellion the Kingdom being setled in the King's hands again, and knowing that the hearts of the People disaffecting him, stood strongly bent towards the Prince, and fearing his own safety as the Prince grew to riper years, to prevent all, he poisoned him. For about a year after the Rebellion, his Son was Sick, the King takes this Opportunity to dispatch him by pretending to send Physic to him to Cure him. The People hearing of the Death of the Prince, according to the Custom of the Land when any of the Royal Blood is deceased, came all in general towards the City where he was, with black or else very dirty Cloaths, which is their Mourning, the Men all bare-headed, the Women with their hair loose and hanging about their Shoulders, to mourn and lament for the Death of their young Prince. Which the King hearing of, sent this word unto them, That since it was not his fortune to live, to sit on his Throne after him and Reign over the Land, it would be but in vain to mourn; and a great trouble and lett unto the Countrey: and their voluntary good will was taken in as good part as the mourning it self, and so dismist the Assembly; and burned the Princes dead Body without Ceremonies or Solemnities.

He Poysons his only Son.

Yet the Death of an old Sister which he had, caused no small Lamentation. It was she that carried the Prince away in the Rebellion. Which I shall relate by and by. Countrey after Countrey came up to mourn, giving all signs of extraordinary sadness, both in Habit and Countenance; the King himself was seen to weep bitterly. The White men also came, which the King took well. Insomuch that the Hollanders supposing the King himself to be dead, came up to take Possession of the Countrey; but hearing the contrary and understanding their mistake returned back again. The King and all his Countrey for more than a years time went in mourning. And her Body was burnt with all the Honour and State that could be.

The extraordinary lamentation at the death of his Sister.

Yet notwithstanding all the love and respect he bare unto her, he did not once Visit her in all the time of her Sickness. And it is now for certain reported that there is not one of his Generation left.

His craft and cruelty shewn at once.

Once to try the hearts of his Attendants, and to see what they would do; being in the Water a swimming, he feigned himself to be in extremity, and near Drowning, and cryed out for help; upon which two young Men more venturous and forward than the rest, immediately made way and came to his help: who taking hold of his Body brought him safe to Land. At which he seemed to be very glad. Putting on his Cloaths he went to his Palace: then he demanded to know who and which they were that had holpen him out of the Water. They, supposing by his Speech it was to give them a reward for the good Service they had so lately done him, answered, We were they. Whereupon he Commands to call such a great Man. (For it is they whom he appoints always to see Execution done [p. 47.] by their Soldiers.) To whom he gave Command, saying, Take both these, and lead them to such a place, and cut off their Heads, who dared to presume to lay their hands on my Person, and did not prostrate themselves rather that I might lay my hand on them for my relief and safety. And accordingly they were Executed.

Chap. IV.

Of his Revenues and Treasure.

The King's Rents brought three times in the year.

THree times in the year they usually carry their Rents unto the King. The one is at the New-year called Ourida cotamaul. The other is for the First fruits, Alleusal cotamaul. And the last is at a certain Sacrifice in the Month of November to their God, called Ilmoy cotamaul. But besides these, whatsoever is wanting in the King's House at any other time, and they have it, they must upon the

King's Order bring it. These Rents are but little Money, but chiefly Corn, Rice, or what grows out of the Ground.

The first is accompanied with a great Festival.

To speak a little of the first time, Viz. at the beginning of the New year, when the King's Duties are brought him. Their New year is always either the 27th, or the 28th, or the 29th of March: At this time upon a special and good day (for which the Astrologers are consulted) the King washes his head, which is a very great Solemnity among them. The Palace is all adorned with Tor-nes, a sort of Triumphal Arches, that make a very fine shew. They are high Poles standing in rows before all the Gates of the Palace, either nine or seven in a row, the middlemost being the highest, and so they fall lower and lower on each side. Thro the middle of them there is an arched passage which serves for a Door. On the top of the Poles are Flags flying, and all about hung full of painted Cloth with Images, and Figures of Men, and Beasts, and Birds, and Flowers: Fruits also are hanged up in great order and exactness. On each side of the entrance of the Arch stand Plantane Trees, with bunches of Plantanes on them as if they were growing.

There are also in some places single Poles of an exceeding height standing by, with long Penons of divers colours flying, and a Bell at the end of each, as in the Figure B. And now they say, The Palace is adorned beyond Heaven.

All the Army is summoned in to stand and wait at the Palace, for the greater State. In the mean time he goes to his Washing-houses, houses built on purpose for him to wash in, called Oulpangi, here are Baths, and Streams and Conveyances of Water, and many Servants, whose Office it is to wait upon the business of these houses. Here he washes his head. Which when he has done, he comes forth into Public view, where all his Militia stand in their Arms. Then the great Guns are fired. Now all the great Men, the Nobles and the Governors of the Countrey make their appearance before him with their Dackim, their New-years Gifts, which are due and accustomed Presents, for Persons in their Places and Offices to

How the Nobles bring their Gifts, or Duties.

give. There is a certain Rate for it. Their manner of
[p. 48.] bringing these Gifts or rather Duties is thus, Their Servants thing, which they think the King will accept, that also they take them at their hands, put them upon their heads, and so come in humble manner, and lay them at the King's feet. These Presents are Gold, Jewels, Plate, Arms, Knives, Cloth, each one by a rate according to the Place he is in, and the Countrey he hath under him: And most of them are to present a Sum of Money besides. And if they can procure any precious Stone, or Rarity, or any other thing, which they think the King will accept, that also they bring, and glad they are to be honoured with the favour of his acceptance. These New-years Gifts for these many years he thinks scorn to receive, and bids them carry them away again till another time. Thus they come with them time after time presenting them, which he as often refusing; at last they bring them no more.

Inferior Persons present their New-years Gifts.

All sorts of Tradesmen also, and such as by their Skill can any ways get Money, at the New year are to pay into the Treasury each one a certain rate. Which now adayes he accepts not, though formerly he always did.

What Taxes and Rents the People pay.

At this and the other times the things which the People carry as their Rents and Taxes, are Wine, Oyl, Corn, Honey, Wax, Cloth, Iron, Elephants Teeth, Tobacco, Money. They bring them themselves, and wait at Court with them commonly divers Months, before they be received. The great Officers tell the King, the People have brought their Rents. The King saith, 'Tis well. But if he give no order withal to receive the things brought (as he seldom does) there is no remedy, but there they must wait with them. And this he doth out of State. The Rents and Duties brought at the two other times are after the same manner; the great Men do only bring theirs once at the New year.

The accidental Incomes of the Crown.

There are other Revenues the King hath, which are accidental; but bring in great wealth; That whensoever any man dies, that hath a stock of Cattel, immediately out thence must be paid a Bull and a Cow with a Calf, and a

Male and Female Buffalo, which tax they call Marral. And there are Officers appointed, whose place it is, to come and carry them away. Also at Harvest yearly there is a certain rate of Corn to be paid by every man according to the Land they hold and enjoy. Heretofore the King granted, that upon Payment of a Sum of Money, they should be clear from this yearly Tax of Corn so long, till the present Possessor died, and the Land descended to his Son or some body else. And then the Estate became liable again to the forementioned Duties. But now of late there is no mention of any discharge by Money. So that in time all Houses and Families in the Kingdom will be liable to the Payment of this Tax of Corn; which will bring in no small quantity of Provision to the King. Only Soldiers that are slain in the Wars, their Lands are free from the Payment of this Tax; but if they die naturally they are not. The Farmers all in general, besides their measures of Corn, pay a certain Duty in Money, with their Rents.

The Profits that accrue to the King from Corn-Lands.

If they Sell or Alienate their Inheritances, the Kings accustomed Duties must not be diminished, whosoever buyeth or enjoyeth them. Neither is here any Land which doth not either pay, or do some Duty to the King. Only one case excepted, and that is, if they give or dedicate Land to a Priest, as an Alms or Deed of Charity in God's Name. On that there is never any more Tax or Duty to be imposed, as being sacrilegious to take ought from one that belongs to the Temple. Formerly the King had the Benefit of the trade of two Ports Cotiar and Portalone, unto each of which used to come yearly some twenty or thirty Sail of small Vessel, which brought considerable Customs in. But now the Hollander has deprived him of both, suffering no Vessels to come.

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Custom of goods imported formerly paid.

The King hath several Treasure-houses, and in several places, in Cities and Towns, where always are Guards of Soldiers to watch them both day and night. I cannot certainly declare all that is contained in them. There are Precious Stones such as his Land affords, mony, but not very much, Cloth, and what he hath got by Shipwrack,

His Treasuries.

Presents, that have been sent him from other Nations, Elephants-teeth, Wax, good store of Arms, as Guns, Bowes and Arrows, Pikes, Halberds, Swords, Ammunition, store of Knives, Iron, Tallipat-Leaves, whereof one will cover a large Tent, Bedsteads, Tables, Boxes, Mats of all sorts. I will not adventure to declare further the Contents of his Treasuries, lest I may be guilty of a mistake. But sure I am he hath plenty of all such things, as his Land affords. For he is very Provident, and Careful to be well furnished with all things. And what he does abound with, he had rather it should lye and rot, then be imbezelled and wasted, that is, distributed among his Servants, or Slaves; of which he hath great store.

He has many Elephants.

He hath some hundreds of Elephants, which he keepeth tame, and could have as many more as he pleaseth; but altho not catched, yet they are all his, and at his Command when he pleaseth.

Great Treasure thrown into the River formerly.

It is frequently reported and I suppose is true, that both he and his Predecessors, by the distress they have been driven to by the Portuguezes, have cast some store of Riches into the great River, Mavelagonga, running by the City, in deep holes among Rocks, which is irrecoverable, and into a made Pond by the Palace in the City of Cande, or Hingodegul-neur. Wherein are kept to this day two Alligators, so that none dare go into the water for fear of being devoured by them. And often times they do destroy Cows, that go to drink there. But this Pond by cutting the Bank might easily be drained.

The Treasure he most valueth.

To conclude, the Land that is under his jurisdiction, is all his, with the People, their Estates, and whatsoever it affords, or is therein. But that which he doth chiefly value and esteem, are Toys and Novelties, as Hawks, Horses, Dogs, strange Birds, and Beasts, and particularly a spotted Elephant, and good Arms, of which he hath no want.

Chap. V.

Of the Kings great Officers, and the Governours of the Provinces.

THere are two, who are the greatest and highest Officers in the Land. They are called Adigars, I may term them Chief Judges; under whom is the Government of the Cities, and the Countries also in the Vacancy of other Governours. All People have liberty in default of Justice to appeal to these Adigars, or if their causes and differences be not decided by their Governours according to their minds. *Two greatest Officers in the Land.* [p. 50.]

To these there are many Officers and Sergeants belonging. All which, to be known, carry staves in their hands like to Bandyes, the crooked end uppermost, which none but they dare carry. The sight of which staves, upon what message soever they be sent, signifies as much as the Adigars Hand and Seal. If the Adigar be ignorant in what belongs to his place and office, these men do instruct him what and how to do. The like is in all other places which the King bestows: if they know not what belongs to their places, there are Inferiour Officers under them, that do teach and direct them how to Act.

Next under the Adigars, are the Dissauva's, who are Governours over Provinces and Counties of the Land. Each Province and County has its Governour; but all Governours are not Dissauva's, nor other great Officers known by other names or Titles, as Roterauls and Vidanies. But all these are Generals or Chief Commanders, who have a certain number of Soldiers under them. These great men are to provide, that good orders be kept in the Countries over which they are placed, and that the King's accustomed dutie be brought in due season to the Court. They have Power also to decide controversies between the People of their Jurisdiction, and to punish contentious and disorderly *The next great Officers.*

persons, which they do chiefly by amercing a Fine from them, which is for their Profit, for it is there own: and also by committing them to Prison. Into which when they are once fallen, no means without mony can get them out again. But be the fact never so hainous (Murther it self) they can put none to death. The sentence of death being pronounced only by the King. They also are sent upon expeditions in War with their Soldiers, and give Attendance, and watch at Court in their appointed Stations.

None can put to death but the King.

These Dissauva's are also to see that the Soldiers in their Countries do come in due season and order for that purpose.

These Dissauva's are durante bene placite.

They are appointed by the King himself, not for life, but during his good pleasure. And when they are dead or removed, oftentimes their places lay void, somtimes for months, somtimes perhaps for years; during which time the Adigar rules and governs those Countries; and for his labour receiveth all such Incoms and Profits as are accustomed and of right do belong to the Governour.

Whom the King makes Dissauva's. And their Profits and Honours.

The King when he advances any to be Dissauva's, or to any other great Office regards not their ability or sufficiency to perform the same, only they must be persons of good rank, and gentile extraction: and they are all naturally discreet and very solid, and so the fitter for the Kings employment. When he first promotes them, he shews them great testimonies of his Love and Favour, (especially to those that are Christians, in whose service he imposeth greater confidence than in his own people, concluding that they will make more conscience of their ways, and be more faithful in their Office) and gives them a Sword, the hilt all carved and inlaid with Silver and Brass very handsomly, the Scabberd also covered with Silver, a Knife and Halberd; and lastly, a Town or Towns for their maintenance. The benefit of which is, that all the Profits which before the King received from those Towns, now accrues unto the Kings Officer. These Towns are composed of all sorts of Trades and People that are necessary for his service to whom the King hath given them; a Potter, a Smith, a Washer. And there is a piece of Land according

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to the ability of the Town, which the Townsmen are to Till and manure, and to lay up the Corn for his use. Which matters I mentioned before in the third Chapter. And besides the Customs or Taxes that all other free Towns pay to the King, there is a due, but smaller, to be paid to the Governour out of them. But these are not all his advantages.

Other Benefits belonging to these Officers.

When there is a new Governour made over any Countrey, it is the Custom that that whole Countrey comes up to appear before him at the Court, for there his Residence is. Neither may they come empty handed, but each one must bring his Gift or Present with him. These also are expected at other times to be brought unto him by the people, tho they have no business with him, no suits or causes to be decided: even private Soldiers at their first coming tho to their due watch, must personally appear before their Commander, and if he have nothing else, he must Present him with forty leaves of green Betle, which he with his own hand receiveth, and they with both theirs delivers into his, which is taken for an honour he vouchsafes them.

They must always reside at Court.

These Governours, nor any other admitted to Court into the Kings service, are never after to return home, altho they are not employed at present, and might be spared, neither are they permitted to enjoy their wives: and they are day and night to stand guard in certain stations, where the King appoints them.

The Officers under them. Courlividani.

Things thus standing with them, they cannot go in Person to visit and oversee their several Charges themselves. They have therefore several Officers under them to do it. The chief of whom is the Courlividani. This person beside his entertainment in the Countrey unto which he is sent to Govern under the Dissauva, hath a due revenue, but smaller then that of the Governour. His chief business is to wrack and hale all that may be for his Master, and to see good Government, and if there be any difference or quarrel between one or other, he takes a Fine from both, and carrieth to the Governour, not regarding

equity but the profit of himself and him that imploys him. But he hears their case and determines it. And if they like not his sentence, they may remove their business unto the Governour himself, whose desire is not so much to find out the right of the cause, as that that may be most for his own interest and profit. And these carriages cannot reconcile them much love among the people; but the more they are hated by the people for their rigorous government, the better they please the King. For he cares not that the Countrey should affect the Great men.

The Dissauva's by these Courlividani their Officers do oppress and squeez the people, by laying Mulcts upon them for some Crimes or Misdemeanors, that they will find and lay to their Charge. In Fine this Officer is the Dissauva's chief Substitute, who orders and manages all affairs incumbent upon his Master.

Congconna. Next to him is Congconna, An Overseer. Who is to oversee all things under the Courlividani. But besides

Courli-atchila. him, there is a Courli-atchila like our Cunstable, who is to put that in execution that the Governour orders, to dispatch any thing away that the Land affords for the Kings use, and to send persons to Court, that are summoned.

[p. 52.] And in the discharge of this his Office, he may call in the assistance of any man.

The Liannah. The next Officer under the Governor is the Liannah, The Writer. Who reads Letters brought, and takes accounts of all Business, and of what is sent away to the Court: He is also to keep Registers, and to write Letters, and to take notice of things happening.

The Undia. Next to him is the Undia. A word that signifieth a lump. He is a Person that gathers the King's Money: and is so styled because he gathereth the King's Monies together into a lump.

The Monnannah. After him is the Monnannah, The Measurer. His Place is to go and measure the Corn that grows upon the King's Land. Or what other Corn belongeth to him.

The Power of these Officers extends not all a whole County or Province over, but to a convenient part or

division of it. To wit, so much as they may well manage themselves. And there are several sets of the like Officers appointed over other Portions of the Countrey. As with us there are divers Hundreds or Divisions in a County. To each of which are distinct Officers belonging.

Some Towns exempt from the Dissauva's Officers.

These Officers can exercise their Authority, throughout the whole Division over which they are constituted, excepting some certain Towns, that are of exempt jurisdiction. And they are of two sorts. First, such Towns as belong to the Idol-Temples, and the Priests, having been given and bestowed on them long ago by former Kings. And secondly, The Towns, which the King allots to his Noblemen and Servants. Over these Towns thus given away, neither the forementioned Officers, nor the chief Magistrate himself hath any Power. But those to whom they are given and do belong to, do put in their own Officers, who serve to the same purposes as the abovesaid do.

Other Officers yet.

But these are not all the Officers; there are others, whose place it is, upon the Death of any Head of a Family to fetch away the King's Marrals, Harriots as I may call them; Viz. a Bull and a Cow, a Male and Female Buffalo, out of his Stock. Which is accustomably due to the King, as I have mentioned before. And others, who in Harvest time carry away certain measures of Corn out of every Man's Crop according to the rate of their Land.

These places obtained by Bribes.

These Inferior Officers commonly get their Places by Bribery; Their Children do pretend a right to them after their Father's Death, and will be preferred before others, greazing the Magistrate.

But remain only during pleasure.

None of these have their Places for life; and no longer than the Governor pleaseth. And he pretty often removes them or threatens to do so upon pretence of some neglects, to get Money from them. And the People have this privilege, that upon Complaint made of any of these Officers, and request that they may be changed and others made, They must be displaced, and others put in; but not at their Choice, but at the Choice of the Chief Magistrate, or Owner of the Town.

Countrey-Courts. For the hearing Complaints and doing Justice among Neighbours, here are Countrey-Courts of Judicature, consisting of these Officers, together with the Head-Men of the Places and Towns, where the Courts are kept: and these are called Gom sabbi, as much as to say, Town-Consultations. But if any do not like, and is loath to stand by what they have determined, and think themselves wronged, they may appeal to their Head-Governor, that dwells at Court; but it is chargeable, for he must have a Fee. They may appeal also from him to the Adigars, or the Chief Justices of the Kingdom. But whoso gives the greatest Bribe, he shall overcome. For it is a common saying in this Land, That he that has Money to see the Judge, needs not fear nor care, whether his cause be right or not. The greatest Punishment that these Judges can inflict upon the greatest Malefactors, is but Imprisonment. From which Money will release them.

They may appeal.

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Appeals to the King. Some have adventured to Appeal to the King sometimes; falling down on the ground before him at his coming forth, which is the manner of their obeisance to him, to complain of Injustice. Sometimes he will give order to the great ones to do them right, and sometimes bid them wait, until he is pleased to hear the Cause, which is not suddenly; for he is very slow in all his Business: neither dare they then depart from the Court, having been bidden to stay. Where they stay till they are weary, being at Expence, so that the Remedy is worse than the Disease. And sometimes again when they thus fall before him, he commands to beat them and put them in Chains for troubling of him; and perhaps in that Condition they may lay for some years.

How these great Officers Travel upon publick Business. The King's great Officers when they go abroad into the Countries about the King's Business, they go attended with a number of Soldiers armed both before and behind them; their Sword if not by their side, a Boy carrieth after them, neither do they carry their Swords for their safety or security. For in travelling here is little or no danger at all. But it is out of State, and to shew their greatness. The Custom is that all their journey Victuals be prepared

for them ready dressed; and if their Business requires hast, then it is brought on a Pole on a Man's shoulder, the Pots that hold it hanging on each end, so that nothing can be spilt out into the road; and this is got ready against the great Man's coming. So that they are at no charge for Diet: It is brought in at the charge of the Countrey. But however this is not for all his Soldiers that attend him (they must bring their own Provisions with them) but only for himself, and some of his Captains.

Their Titles and Signs of State.

The greatest Title that is allowed in the City to be given to the greatest Man is Oussary, which signifieth Worshipful. But when they are abroad from the King, men call them Sihattu and Dishondrew, implying, Honour and Excellency. These Grandees whensoever they walk abroad, their manner is in State to lean upon the arm of some Man or Boy. And the Adigar besides this piece of State, wheresoever he goes, there is one with a great Whip like a Coach-whip goes before him slashing it, that all People may have notice that the Adigar is coming.

The misery that succeeds their Honour.

But there is something comes after, that makes all the Honour and Wealth of these great Courtiers not at all desirable: and that is, that they are so obnoxious to the King's displeasure. Which is a thing so customary, that it is no disgrace for a Nobleman to have been in Chains, nay and in the Common Goal too. And the great Men are as ready when the King Commands, to lay hold on one another, as he to command them: and glad to have the Honour to be the King's Executioners, hoping to have the Place and Office of the Executed. When any of these are [p. 54.] thus dispatched, commonly he cuts off or imprisoneth all the Male kind, that are near of Kin, as Sons or Brothers, fearing they should plot revenge, and seizes on all the Estate. And as for the Family, after Examination with Punishment to make them confess where the Estate lyes, they have Monthly Allowance out of the same. But the Wife or Women-Kindred are now nothing at all in esteem for Honorable Ladies as they were before. Yet sometimes he will send for the Sons or Brothers of these whom

he hath cut off for Traitors, and remand them out of the Prisons where he had committed them, and prefer them in honorable Employment.

The foolish ambition of the Men and Women of this Countrey.

It is generally reported, and I have seen it so, that those whom he prefers unto the greatest and weightiest Imployments are those whom he intends soon to cut off, and contrariwise those whom he doth affect, and intends to have longer Service of, shall not be so laden with Places and Honours. Howbeit altho they know and see this before their eyes daily, yet their hearts are so haughty and ambitious, that their desires and endeavours are to ascend unto the highest degrees of honour: tho that be but one remove from Death and utter Destruction. And the Women's ambition is so great also, that they will put their Husbands on to seek for Preferment, urging how dishonorable it is for them to sit at home like Women, that so they may have respect, and be reputed for great Ladies.

Chap. VI.

Of the King's Strength and Wars.

The King's Military Affairs.

IT remains now that I speak a little of the King's Military Affairs, His Power consists, in the natural Strength of his Countrey, in his Watches, and in the Craft, more than the Courage, of his Soldiers.

The natural strength of his Countrey.

He hath no Artificial Forts or Castles, but Nature hath supplied the want of them. For his whole Countrey of Conde Uda, standing upon such high Hills, and those so difficult to pass, is all an Impregnable Fort: and so is more especially Digligy-neur his present Palace. These Places have been already described at large; and therefore I omit speaking any further of them here.

Watches and Thorn-gates.

There are constant Watches set in convenient places in all parts of the Countrey, and Thorn-gates: but in time of danger, besides the ordinary Watches, in all Towns, and in all places and in every cross Road, exceeding thick,

that 'tis not possible for any to pass unobserved. These Thorn-gates which I here mention and have done before, are made of a sort of Thorn-bush or Thorn-tree; each stick or branch whereof thrusts out on all sides round about, sharp prickles, like Iron Nails, of three or four inches long: one of these very Thorns I have lately seen in the Repository at Gresham College: These sticks or branches being as big as a good Cane, are platted one very close to another, and so being fastned and tyed to three or four upright spars, are made in the fashion of a Door. This is hung upon a Door-case some ten or twelve foot high, (so that they may, and do ride thro upon Elephants) made of three pieces of Timber like a Gallows, after this [p. 55.] manner the Thorn door hanging upon the transverse piece like a Shop window; and so they lift it up, or clap it down, as there is occasion: and tye it with a Rope to a cross Bar.

None to pass from the Kings City without Pasports.

But especially in all Roads and Passages from the City where the King now Inhabits, are very strict Watches set: which will suffer none to pass not having a Passport; which is the print of a Seal in clay: It is given at the Court to them that have Licence to go thrô the Watches. The Seals are different, according to the Profession of the Party: as to a Soldier the print of a man with a Pike on his Shoulder: to a Labourer, a Man with two Bags hanging on each end of a Pole upon his Shoulder, which is the manner they commonly carry their Loads. And to a white man, the Passport is the print of a Man with a Sword by his side, and a Hat on his head. And so many Men as there are in the Company, so many prints there must be in the Clay. There is not half the examination for those that come into the City, as for those that go out, whom they usually search to see what they carry with them.

Their Soldiery.

To speak now of their Soldiery, their Expeditions and manner of Fight. Besides the Dissauvas, spoken of before, who are great Generals, there are other great Captains. As those they call Mote-Ralls; as much as to

say, Scribes. Because they keep the Rolls or Registers of certain Companies of Soldiers, each containing 970 Men, who are under their Command. Of these Mote-Ralls, there are four principal. But besides these, there are smaller Commanders over Soldiers; who have their Places from the King, and are not under the Command of the former great ones.

All Men of Arms wait at Court.

All these both Commanders and common Soldiers must wait at the Court. But with this difference. The great Men must do it continually: each one having his particular Watch appointed by the King. But the private Soldiers take their turns of Watching. And when they go, they do carry all their Provisions for the time of their stay with them upon their Backs. These Soldiers are not listed, (listing Soldiers being only upon extraordinary occasions) but are by Succession the Son after the Father. For which Service they injoy certain Lands and Inheritances, which is instead of Wages or Pay. This duty if they omit or neglect, they loose or forfeit their Inheritance. Or if they please to be released or discharged, they may, parting with their Land. And then their Commander placeth another in their room; but so long as the Land lies void, he converts the Profits to his own proper use. And he that after takes it, gives a Bribe to the Commander, who yet notwithstanding will not permit him to hold it above two or three years, unless he renew his Bribes.

The Soldiers have Lands allotted them instead of Pay.

To prevent the Soldiers from Plotting.

The Soldiers of the High-Lands called Conde Uda, are dispersed all over the Land; so that one scarcely knows the other, the King not suffering many Neighbours and Townsmen to be in one Company; which hath always heretofore been so ordered for fear of Conspiracies.

The manner of sending them out on Expeditions.

When the King sends any of these Commanders with their Armies abroad to War or otherwise, sometimes they see not his face, but he sends out their Orders to them by a Messenger; sometimes admits them into his Presence, and gives them their Orders with his own mouth, but nothing in Writing. And when several of them are sent together upon any Design, there is not any one appointed

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to be Chief Commander or General over the whole Army; but each one as being Chief over his own Men, disposeth and ordereth them according to his pleasure; the others do the like. Which sometimes begets disagreement among themselves, and by that means their Designs are frustrated. Neither doth he like or approve, that the great Commanders of his Soldiers should be very intimate or good Friends, lest they should conspire against him, nor will he allow them to disagree in such a degree that it be publickly known and observed.

The King requires all the Captains singly to send him intelligence of their Affairs.

And when there is any tidings to send the King, they do not send in general together by consent, but each one sends particularly by himself. And their common custom and practice is to inform what they can one against another, thinking thereby to obtain the most favour and good will from the King. By this means there can nothing be done or said, but he hath notice thereof.

When the War is finished they may not return without order.

Being in this manner sent forth, they dare not return, altho they have performed and finished the Business they were sent upon, until he send a special Order and Command to recall them.

The Condition of the common Soldiers.

When the Armies are sent abroad, as he doth send them very often against the Dutch, it goeth very hard with the Soldiers; who must carry their Victuals and Pots to dress it in upon their Backs, besides their Arms, which are Swords, Pikes, Bows and Arrows, and good Guns. As for Tents, for their Armies alwayes ly in the Fields, they carry Tallipat leaves, which are very light and convenient, along with them. With these they make their Tents: Fixing sticks into the ground, and laying other pieces of Wood overthwart, after the manner of the roof of an House, and so lay their leaves over all, to shoot the Rains off. Making these Tents stronger or slighter, according to the time of their tarriance. And having spent what Provisions they carried out with them, they go home to fetch more. So that after a Month or two a great part of the Army is always absent.

He conceals his purpose, when he sends out his Army.

Whensoever the King sends his Armies abroad upon

any Expedition, the Watches beyond them are all secured immediately, to prevent any from passing to carry Intelligence to the Enemy. The Soldiers themselves do not know the Design they are sent upon, until they come there. None can know his intentions or meaning by his actions. For sometimes he sends Commanders with their Soldiers to ly in certain places in the Woods until farther order, or until he send Ammunition to them. And perhaps when they have laid there long enough, he sends for them back again. And after this manner oftentimes he catches the Hollanders before they be aware, to their great prejudice and dammage. He cares not that his great Men should be free-spirited or Valiant; if there be any better than the rest, them to be sure suddenly he cuts off, lest they might do him any mischief.

Great exploits done, and but little Courage.

In their War there is but little valour used, altho they do accomplish many notable Exploits. For all they do is by crafty Stratagems. They will never meet their Enemies in the Field, to give them a repulse by Battel, and force of Arms: neither is the Enemy like to meet with any opposition at their first goings out to invade the King's Coasts, the King's Soldiers knowing the adverse Forces are at first wary and vigilant, as also well provided with all Necessaries. But their usual practice is to way-lay them, and stop up the wayes before them: there being convenient places in all the Roads, which they have contrived for such purposes. And at these places the Woods are not suffered to be felled, but kept to shelter them from the sight of their enemies. Here they lye lurking, and plant their Guns between the Rocks and Trees, with which they do great damage to their Enemies before they are aware. Nor can they then suddenly rush in upon them, being so well guarded with Bushes and Rocks before them, thro which before their Enemies can get, they flee carrying their great Guns upon their Shoulders and are gone into the Woods, where it is impossible to find them, until they come them selves to meet them after the former manner.

They work chiefly by Stratagems.

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Likewise they prepare against the enemies coming great

bushy Trees, having them ready cut hanging only by withs which grow in the Wood; these as they march along they let fall among them with many shot and Arrows.

Being sent upon any design they are very circumspect to keep it hidden from the Enemies knowledg; by suffering only those to pass, who may make for their Benefit and advantage; their great endeavour being to take their Enemies unprovided and at unawares.

They understand the manner of Christian Armies.

By the long wars first between them and the Portugueze, and since with the Hollander, they have had such ample experience, as hath much improved them in the art of War above what they were formerly. And many of the chief Commanders and Leaders of their Armies are men which formerly served the Portugueze against them. By which they come to know the disposition and discipline of Christian Armies. Insomuch as they have given the Dutch several overthrows, and taken Forts from them, which they had up in the Countrey.

They seldom hazzard a battel.

Heretofore for bringing the head of an Enemy, the King used to gratify them with some reward, but now the fashion is almost out of use. The ordering of their battel is with great security, there being very few lost in Fight. For if they be not almost sure to win the battel, they had rather not fight, than run any hazzard of loosing it.

If they prove unsuccessful, how he punishes them.

If his men do not successfully accomplish the design he sends them upon, to be sure they shall have a lusty piece of work given them, to take revenge on them; for not using their weapons well he will exercise them with other tools houghs and pickaxes, about his Palace. And during the time they stay to work, they must bring their Victuals with them not having monies there to buy: They cannot carry for above one month, and when their Provisions are all spent, if they will have any more, they must go home and fetch them. But that is not permitted them without giving a Fee to the Governour or his Overseer. Neither can they go without his leave, for besides the punishment, the Watches which are in every Road from the Kings City will stop and seize them. [Chap. VII.

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Chap. VII.

A Relation of the Rebellion made against the King.

A Comet ushered in the Rebellion.

FOr the Conclusion of this Part, it will not be improper to relate here a dangerous rising of the People against the King. It happened in the year 1664. About which time appeared a fearful Blazing-Star. Just at the Instant of the Rebellion, the Star was right over our heads. And one thing I very much wondred, at, which was that whereas before this Rebellion, the Tail stood away toward the Westward from which side the Rebellion sprung, the very night after (for I very well observed it) the Tail was turned and stood away toward the Eastward. And by degrees it diminished quite away.

The intent of the Conspirators.

At this time, I say, the people of this land, having been long and sore oppressed by this Kings unreasonable and cruel Government, had contrived a Plot against him. Which was to assault the Kings Court in the night, and to slay him, and to make the Prince his Son, King. He being then some twelve or fifteen years of age, who was then with his Mother the Queen in the City of Cande. At this time the King held his Court in a City called Nillemby. The Situation of which is far inferior to that of Cande, and as far beyond that of Digligy where he now is. Nillemby lyeth some fourteen miles southward of the City of Cande. In the place where this City stands it is reported by Tradition an Hare gave chase after a Dog, upon which it was concluded that place was fortunate, and so indeed it proved to the King. It is invironed with Hills and Woods.

How the Rebellion began.

The time appointed to put their design in action was the one and twentieth of December 1664. about Twelve in the night. And having gotten a select company of men,

how many well I know not, but as is supposed, not above two hundred, neither needed they many here, having so many Confederates in the Court; in the dead of the night they came marching into the City. The Watch was thought to be of their confedracy: but if he were not, it was not in his power to resist them. Howbeit afterwards, whether he were or were not, he was executed for it. The said men, being thus in the City, hastened and came down to the Court; and fell upon the great men, which then laid without the Palace upon Watch: since which by the Kings order they lye allways within the Palace. For they were well informed before who were for them and who not. Many who before were not intrusted to know of their design, were killed and wounded; and those that could, seeing the slaughter of others, got in unto the King. Who was walled about with a Clay-wall, thatched: that was all his strength. Yet these people feared to assault him, laying still until the morning. At which time the King made way to flee, fearing to stay in his Palace, endeavouring to get unto the mountains, and had not with him above fifty persons. There were horses went with him, but the wayes were so bad, that he could not ride. They were fain to drive an Elephant before him, to break the way through the Woods, that the King with his followers might pass.

The King Flyes.

As he fled they pursued him, but at a great distance, fearing to approach within shot of him. For he wanted not for excellent good Fowling-pieces, which are made there. So he got safe upon a Mountain, called Gauluda, some fifteen miles distant, where many of the Inhabitants, that were near, resorted to him. Howbeit had the people of the Rebel-party been resolute, who were the major part (almost all the Land;) this Hill could not have secured him, but they might have driven him from thence; there being many ways by which they might have ascended. There is not far from thence a high and peaked hill called Mondamounour, where there is but one way to get up, and that very steep, at the top are great stones hanging in chains to let fall when need requireth. Had he fled hither,

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They pursue him faintly.

there had been no way to come at him. But he never will adventure to go, where he may be stopped in.

They go to the Prince and Proclaim him King.

The People having thus driven away the old King, marched away to the City of Cande, and proclaimed the Prince, King: giving out to us English who were there, that what they had done they had not done rashly, but upon good Consideration, and with good advice; the King by his evil Government having occasioned it, who went about to destroy both them and their Countrey: As in keeping Ambassadours, disanulling of Trade, detaining of all people that come upon his Land, and killing of his Subjects and their Children, and not suffering them to enjoy nor to see their Wives. And all this was contrary to reason, and as, they were informed, to the Government of other Countries.

The carriage of the Prince.

The Prince being young and tender, and having never been out of the Palace, nor ever seen any but those that attended on his person, as it seemed afterwards, was scared to see so many coming and bowing down to him, and telling him that he was King, and his Father was fled into the mountains. Neither did he say or act any thing, as not owning the business, or else not knowing what to say or do. This much discouraged the Rebells, to see they had no more thanks for their pains. And so all things stood until the five and twentieth of December, at which time they intended to march and fall upon the old King.

Upon the Princes Flight, the Rebells scatter and run.

But in the Interim, the Kings Sister Flyes away with the Prince from the Court into the Countrey near unto the King; which so amazed the Rebells, that the mony and cloth and plunder which they had taken, and were going to distribute to the Strangers to gain their good will and assistance, they scattered about and fled. Others of their Company seeing the Business was overthrown, to make amends for their former fact, turned and fell upon their Consorts, killing and taking Prisoners all they could. The people were now all up in arms one against another, killing whom they pleas'd, only saying they were Rebells and taking their goods.

A great man declares for the King.

By this time a great man had drawn out his men, and

stood in the Field, and there turned and publickly declared for the old King: and so went to catch the Rebells that were scattered abroad. Who when he understood that they were all fled, and no whole party or body left to resist him, marched into the City killing all that he could catch.

For eight or ten days nothing but killing one another to approve themselves good Subjects. [p. 60.]

And so all revolted, and came back to the King again: whilst he only lay still upon his mountain. The King needed not to take care to catch or execute the Rebells, for they themselves out of their zeal to him, and to make amends for what was past, imprisoned and killed all they met; the Plunder being their own. This continued for some eight or ten days. Which the King hearing of, commanded to kill no more, but that whom they took they should imprison, until examination passed; which was not so much to save innocent persons from violence, as that he might have the Rebells to torment them, and make them confess of their Confederates. For he spared none that seemed guilty: some to this day lye chained in Prison, being sequestred of all their Estates, and beg for their living. One of the most noted Rebells, called Ambom Wellaraul, he sent to Columba to the Dutch to execute, supposing they would invent new Tortures for him, beyond what he knew of. But they instead of executing him, cut off his chains, and kindly entertained him, and there he still is in the City of Columba, reserving him for some designs they may hereafter have against the Countrey.

The King poysons his Son to prevent a Rebellion hereafter.

The King could not but be sensible, that it was his rigorous government that had occasioned this Rebellion, yet amended it not in the least; but on the contrary like to Rehoboam, added yet more to the Peoples yoak. And being thus safely re-instated in his Kingdom again, and observing that the life of his Son gave encouragement to the Rebellion, resolved to prevent it for the future by taking him away. Which upon the next opportunity he did by Poysoning him, which I have related before.

His ingratitude.

But one thing there is, that argues him guilty of imprudence and horrible ingratitude, that most of those that went along with him when he fled, of whose Loyalty he

had such ample experience, he hath since cut off ; and that with extreme cruelty too.

Another Comet, but without any bad effects following it.

In the year 1666 in the month of February, there appeared in this Countrey another Comet or stream in the West, the head end under the Horizon, much resembling that which was seen in England in the year 1680 in December. The sight of this did much daunt both King and People, having but a year or two before felt the sad event of a Blazing-Star in this Rebellion which I have now related. The King sent men upon the highest mountains in the Land to look if they could perceive the head of it, which they could not, being still under the Horizon. This continued visible about the space of one month, and by that time it was so diminished, that it could not be seen. But there were no remarkable passages that ensued upon it.

PART III. [p. 61.]

Chap. I.

Concerning the Inhabitants of this Island.

WEe shall in this Part speak of the Inhabitants of this Countrey, with their Religion, and Customs, and other things belonging to them.

The several Inhabitants of this Island.

Besides the Dutch who possess, as I judg, about one fourth of the Island, there are Malabars, that are free Denizons, and pay duty to the King for the Land they enjoy, as the Kings natural Subjects do; there are also Moors, who are like Strangers, and hold no Land, but live by carrying goods to the Sea-Ports, which now are in the Hollanders hands. The Sea-Ports are inhabited by a mixt people, Malabars and Moors, and some that are black, who profess themselves Roman Catholicks, and wear Crosses, and use Beads. Some of these are under the Hollander; and pay toll and tribute to them.

But I am to speak only of the natural proper People of the Island, which they call Chingulays.

The Original of Chingulays.

I have asked them, whence they derive themselves, but they could not tell. They say their Land was first inhabited by Devils, of which they have a long Fable. I have heard a tradition from some Portugueze here, which was; That an antient King of China had a Son, who during his Fathers Reign, proved so very harsh and cruel unto the people, that they being afraid he might prove a Tyrant if he came

to the Crown, desired the King to banish him, and that he might never succeed. This that King, to please the people, granted. And so put him with certain Attendants into a ship, and turned them forth unto the Winds to seek their fortune. The first shore they were cast upon, was this Island. Which they seated themselves on, and peopled it. But to me nothing is more improbable than this Story. Because this people and the Chineses have no agreement nor similitude in their features nor language nor diet. It is more probable, they came from the Malabars, their Countrey lying next, tho they do resemble them little or nothing. I know no nation in the world do so exactly resemble the Chingulays as the people of Europe.

Wild-men. Of these Natives there be two sorts, Wild and Tame. I will begin with the former. For as in these Woods there are Wild Beasts, so Wild Men also. The Land of Bintan is all covered with mighty Woods, filled with abundance of Deer. In this Land are many of these wild men; they call them Vaddahs, dwelling near no other Inhabitants. They speak the Chingulayes Language. They kill Deer, and dry the Flesh over the fire, and the people of the Countrey come and buy it of them. They never Till any ground for Corn, their Food being only Flesh. They are very expert with their Bows. They have a little Ax, which they stick in by their sides, to cut hony out of hollow Trees. Some few, which are near Inhabitants, have commerce with other people. They have no Towns nor Houses, only live [p. 62.] by the waters under a Tree, with some boughs cut and laid round about them, to give notice when any wild Beasts come near, which they may hear by their rustling and trampling upon them. Many of these habitations we saw when we fled through the Woods, but God be praised the Vaddahs were gone.

Pay an acknowledgment to the King. Some of the tamer sort of these men are in a kind of Subjection to the King. For if they can be found, tho it must be with a great search in the Woods, they will acknowledg his Officers, and will bring to them Elephants-Teeth, and Honey, and Wax, and Deers Flesh: but the

others in lieu thereof do give them near as much, in Arrows, Cloth &c. fearing lest they should otherwise appear no more.

How they bespeak Arrows to be made them.

It hath been reported to me by many people, that the wilder sort of them, when they want Arrows, will carry their load of Flesh in the night, and hang it up in a Smith's Shop, also a Leaf cut in the form they will have their Arrows made, and hang by it. Which if the Smith do make according to their Pattern they will requite, and bring him more Flesh: but if he make them not, they will do him a mischief one time or another by shooting him in the night. If the Smith make the Arrows, he leaves them in the same place, where the Vaddahs hung the Flesh.

They violently took away Carriers goods.

Formerly, in this Kings Reign these wild men used to lye in wait, to catch Carriers people, that went down with Oxen to trade at the Sea-Ports, carrying down Betelnuts, and bringing up Cloth, and would make them to give them such things as they required, or else threatning to shoot them. They fearing their lives, and not being able to resist, were fain to give them what they asked; or else most certainly they would have had both life and goods too. At which this King sent many Commanders with their Soldiers to catch them, which at length they did: But had not some of themselves proved false to them, being incouraged by large promises, they could never have taken them. The chief being brought before the King, promising amendment, were pardoned: but sent into other Woods with a Command not to return thither any more, neitheir to use their former courses. But soon after their departure, they forsook those Woods they were put into, and came to their old haunt again, falling to their former course of Life. This the King hearing of, and how they had abused his Pardon, gave command either to bring them dead or alive. These Vaddahs knowing now there could be no hope of Pardon, would not be taken alive, but were shot by the Treachery of their own men. The heads of two of the chiefest were hanged on Trees by the City. And ever since they have not presumed to disturb the Countrey,

nor the King them he only desiring their quiet, and not to be against him.

Hourly Vadahs trade with the people.

About Hourly the remotest of the Kings Dominions there are many of them, that are pretty tame, and come and buy and sell among the people. The King once having occasion of an hasty Expedition against the Dutch, the Governour summoned them all in to go with him, which they did. And with their Bows and Arrows did as good service as any of the rest but afterwards when they returned home again, they removed farther in the Woods, and would be seen no more, for fear of being afterwards prest again to serve the King.

Once made to serve the King.

Their habit and Religion.

They never cut their hair but tye it up on their Crowns in a bunch. The cloth they use, is not broad nor large, scarcely enough to cover their Buttocks. The wilder and tamer sort of them do both observe a Religion. They have a God peculiar to themselves. The tamer do build Temples, the wild only bring their sacrifice under Trees, and while it is offering, dance round it, both men and women.

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A Skirmish about their bounds.

They have their bounds in the Woods among themselves, and one company of them is not to shoot nor gather hony or fruit beyond those bounds. Neer the borders stood a Jack-Tree; one Vaddah being gathering some fruit from this Tree, another Vaddah of the next division saw him, and told him he had nothing to do to gather Jacks from that Tree, for that belonged to them. They fell to words and from words to blows, and one of them shot the other. At which more of them met and fell to skirmishing so briskly with their Bows and Arrows, that twenty or thirty were left dead upon the spot.

Curious in their Arrows.

They are so curious of their Arrows that no Smith can please them. The King once to gratifie them for a great Present they brought him, gave all of them of his best made Arrow-blades: which nevertheless would not please their humour. For they went all of them to a Rock by a River and ground them into another form. The Arrows they use are of a different fashion from all other, and the Chingulays will not use them.

A Vadda or Wild Man.

They have a peculiar way by themselves of preserving Flesh. They cut a hollow Tree and put honey in it, and then fill it up with flesh, and stop it up with clay. Which lyes for a reserve to eat in time of want. *How they preserve their flesh.*

It has usually been told me that their way of catching Elephants is, that when the Elephant lyes asleep they strike their ax into the sole of his foot, and so laming him he is in their power to take him. But I take this for a fable, because I know the sole of the Elephants foot is so hard, that no ax can pierce it at a blow; and he is so wakeful that they can have no opportunity to do it. *How they take Elephants.*

For portions with their Daughters in marriage they give hunting Dogs. They are reported to be courteous. Some of the Chingulays in discontent will leave their houses and friends, and go and live among them, where they are civilly entertained. The tamer sort of them, as hath been said, will sometimes appear, and hold some kind of trade with the tame Inhabitants, but the wilder called Ramba-Vaddahs never shew themselves. *The dowries they give. Their disposition.*

But to come to the civilized Inhabitants, whom I am chiefly to treat of. They are a people proper and very well favoured, beyond all people that I have seen in India, wearing a cloth about their Loyns, and a doublet after the English fashion, with little skirts buttoned at the wrists, and gathered at the shoulders like a shirt, on their heads a red Tunnis Cap, or if they have none, another Cap with flaps of the fashion of their Countrey, described in the next Chapter, with a handsom short hanger by their side, and a knife sticking in their bosom on the right side. *A description of a Chingulay.*

They are very active and nimble in their Limbs: and very ingenious: for, except Iron-work, all other things they have need of, they make and do themselves: insomuch that they all build their own houses. They are crafty and treacherous, not to be trusted upon any protestations: for their manner of speaking is very smooth and courteous, insomuch that they who are unacquainted with their dispositions and manners, may easily be deceived by them. [p. 64.] For they make no account nor conscience of lying, neither *Their disposition.*

is it any shame or disgrace to them, if they be catched in telling lyes: it is so customary. They are very vigilant and wakeful, sufficed with very little sleep: very hardy both for diet and weather, very proud and self conceited. They take something after the Bramines, with whom they scruple not both to marry and eat. In both which otherwise they are exceeding shy and cautious. For there being many Ranks or Casts among them, they will not match with any Inferiour to themselves; nor eat meat dressed in any house, but in those only that are of as good a Cast or Race as themselves: and that which any one hath left, none but those that are near of kin will eat.

They are not very malitious one towards another; and their anger doth not last long; seldom or never any blood shed among them in their quarrels. It is not customary to strike; and it is very rare that they give a blow so much as to their Slaves; who may very familiarly talk and discourse with their Masters. They are very near and covetous, and will pinch their own bellies for profit; very few spend-thrifts or bad husbands are to be met with here.

The Inhabitants of the Mountains differ from those of the Lowlands.

The Natures of the Inhabitants of the Mountains and Low-lands are very different. They of the Low lands are kind, pittiful, helpful, honest and plain, compassionating Strangers, which we found by our own experience among them. They of the Up-lands are ill-natured, false, unkind, though outwardly fair and seemingly courteous, and of more complaisant carriage, speech and better behaviour, than the Low-landers.

Their good opinion of Virtue, though they practice it not.

Of all Vices they are least addicted to stealing, the which they do exceedingly hate and abhor; so that there are but few Robberies committed among them. They do much extol and commend Chastity, Temperance, and Truth in words and actions; and confess that it is out of weakness and infirmity, that they cannot practice the same, acknowledging that the contrary Vices are to be abhorred, being abomination both in the sight of God and Man. They do love and delight in those Men that are most Devout and Precise in their Matters. As for bearing Witness for

Confirmation in any matters of doubt, a Christians word will be believed and credited far beyond their own: because, they think, they make more Conscience of their words.

Superstitious.

They are very superstitious in making Observations of any little Accidents, as Omens portending good to them or evil. Sneezing they reckon to import evil. So that if any chance to sneeze when he is going about his Business, he will stop, accounting he shall have ill success if he proceeds. And none may Sneeze, Cough, nor Spit in the King's Presence, either because of the ill boding of those actions, or the rudeness of them or both. There is a little Creature much like a Lizzard, which they look upon altogether as a Prophet, whatsoever work or business they are going about; if he crys, they will cease for a space, reckoning that he tells them there is a bad Planet rules at that instant. They take great notice in a Morning at their first going out, who first appears in their sight: and if they see a White Man, or a big-bellied Woman, they hold it fortunate: and to see any decrepit or deformed People, as unfortunate.

How they travail. [p. 65.]

When they travel together a great many of them, the Roads are so narrow, that but one can go abreast, and if there be Twenty of them, there is but one Argument or Matter discoursed of among them all from the first to the last. And so they go talking along all together, and every one carrieth his Provisions on his back for his whole Journey.

A brief Character of them.

In short, in Carriage and Behaviour they are very grave and stately like unto the Portugals, in understanding quick and apprehensive, in design subtil and crafty, in discourse courteous but full of Flatteries, naturally inclined to temperance both in meat and drink, but not to Chastity, near and Provident in their Families, commending good Husbandry. In their dispositions not passionate, neither hard to be reconciled again when angry. In their Promises very unfaithful, approving lying in themselves, but misliking it in others; delighting in sloath, deferring labour

till urgent necessity constrain them, neat in apparel, nice in eating; and not given to much sleep.

The Women their Habit and Nature.

As for the Women, their Habit is a Wastcoat of white Callico covering their Bodies, wrought into flourishes with Blew and Red; their Cloath hanging longer or shorter below their Knees, according to their quality; a piece of Silk flung over their heads; Jewels in their Ears, Ornaments about their Necks, and Arms, and Middles. They are in their gate and behaviour very high, stately in their carriage after the Portugal manner, of whom I think they have learned: yet they hold it no scorn to admit the meanest to come to speech of them. They are very thrifty, and it is a disgrace to them to be prodigal, and their Pride & Glory to be accounted near & saving. And to praise themselves they will sometimes say, That scraps and parings will serve them; but that the best is for their Husbands. The Men are not jealous of their Wives, for the greatest Ladies in the Land will frequently talk and discourse with any Men they please, altho their Husbands be in presence. And altho they be so stately, they will lay their hand to such work as is necessary to be done in the House, notwithstanding they have Slaves and Servants enough to do it. Let this suffice concerning the Nature and Manners of the People in general: The ensuing Chapters will be spent in more particular accounts of them. And because they stand much upon their Birth and Gentility, and much of what is afterwards to be related hath reference unto it: I shall first speak of the various ranks and degrees of Men among them.

Chap. II. [p. 66.]

Concerning their different Honours, Ranks, and Qualities.

AMong this People there are divers and sundry Casts or degrees of Quality, which is not according to their Riches or Places of Honour the King promotes them to, but according to their Descent and Blood. And whatsoever this Honour is, be it higher or lower, it remains Hereditary from Generation to Generation. They abhor to eat or drink, or intermarry with any of Inferior Quality to themselves. The signs of higher or meaner Ranks, are wearing of Doublets, or going bare-backed without them: the length of their Cloth below their knees; their sitting on Stools, or on Blocks or Mats spread on the Ground: and in their Caps.

How they distinguish themselves according to their qualities.

They are especially careful in their Marriages, not to match with any inferior Cast, but always each within their own rank: Riches cannot prevail with them in the least to marry with those by whom they must eclipse and stain the Honour of their Family: on which they set an higher price than on their lives. And if any of the Females should be so deluded, as to commit folly with one beneath her self, if ever she should appear to the sight of her Friends, they would certainly kill her, there being no other way to wipe off the dishonour she hath done the Family, but by her own Blood.

They never marry beneath their rank.

Yet for the Men it is something different; it is not accounted any shame or fault for a Man of the highest sort to lay with a Woman far inferior to himself, nay of the very lowest degree; provided he neither eats nor drinks with her, nor takes her home to his House, as a Wife. But if he should, which I never knew done, he is punished by the Magistrate, either by Fine or Imprisonment, or

In case a Man lies with a Woman of inferior rank.

both, and also he is utterly ecluded from his Family, and accounted thenceforward of the same rank and quality, that the Woman is of, whom he hath taken. If the Woman be married already, with whom the Man of better rank lies, and the Husband come and catch them together; how low soever the one be and high the other, he may kill him, and her too, if he please.

And thus by Marrying constantly each rank within it self, the Descent and Dignity thereof is preserved for ever; and whether the Family be high or low it never alters. But to proceed to the particular ranks and degrees of Men among them.

Their Noblemen. The highest, are their Noblemen, called Hondrews. Which I suppose comes from the word Homdrewné, a Title given to the King, signifying Majesty: these being honourable People. 'Tis out of this sort alone, that the King chooseth his great Officers and whom he imploys in his Court, and appoints for Governors over his Countrey. Riches are not here valued, nor make any the more Honourable. For many of the lower sorts do far exceed these Hondrews in Estates. But it is the Birth and Parentage that inobleth.

How distinguished from others. These are distinguished from others by their names, and the wearing of their cloth, which the Men wear down half their Legs, and the Women to their Heels: one end of which Cloth the Women fling over their Shoulders, and [p. 67.] with the very end carelesly cover their Breasts; whereas the other sort of Women must go naked from the wast upwards, and their Cloaths not hang down much below their Knees: except it be for cold; for then either Women or Men may throw their Cloth over their Backs. But then they do excuse it to the Hondrews, when they meet them, saying, Excuse me, it is for warmth.

The distinction by Caps. They are distinguished also by their own Countrey Caps, which are of the fashion of Mitres: there are two flaps tied up over the top of the Crown. If they be Hondrews, their Caps are all of one Colour, either White or Blew: if of inferior quality, than the Cap and the flaps on each

side be of different Colours, whereof the Flaps are always Red.

Of these Hondrews there be two sorts, the one somewhat Inferior to the other as touching Marriage; but not in other things. The greatest part of the Inhabitants of the Land are of the degree of Hondrews. *Of the Hondrews two sorts.*

All Christians either White or Black are accounted equal with the Hondrews. The Whites are generally Honourable, only it is an abatement of their Honour that they eat Beef, and wash not after they have been at Stool; which things are reckoned with this People an Abomination.

Among the Noblemen may be mentioned an Honour, that the King confers, like unto Knighthood; it ceaseth in the Person's death, and is not Hereditary. The King confers it by putting about their Heads a piece of Silk or Ribbond embroidered with Gold and Silver, and bestowing a Title upon them. They are stiled Mundianna. There are not above two or three of them now in the Realm living. *An Honour like unto Knighthood.*

Next after the degree of Hondrews may be placed Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters and Painters. Who are all of one degree and quality. But the Hondrews will not eat with them: however in Apparel there is no difference; and they are also privileged to sit on Stools, which none of the Inferior ranks of People hereafter mentioned, may do. Heretofore they were accounted almost equal to the Inferior sort of Hondrewes, and they would eat in these Artificers Houses, but afterwards they were degraded upon this occasion. It chanced some Hondrews came to a Smith's Shop to have their Tools mended, when it came to be Dinner time, the Smith leaves work, and goes in to his House to dine, leaving the Hondrewes in his Shop: who had waited there a great while to have their work done. Now whether the Smith fearing lest their hunger might move them to be so impudent or desperate as to partake with him of his Dinner, clapt to his Door after him: Which was taken so hainously by those hungry People in his Shop, that immediately they all went and *Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, &c.*

declared abroad what an affront the Smith had put upon them. Whereupon it was decreed and confirmed, that for ever after all the People of that rank should be deposed, and deprived of the Honour of having the Hondrewes to eat in their Houses. Which Decree hath stood in force ever since.

The Privilege and state of the Smiths.

Nevertheless these Smiths take much upon them, especially those who are the King's Smiths; that is, such who live in the King's Towns, and do his work. These have this Privilege, that each has a parcel of Towns belonging to them, whom none but they are to work for. The ordinary work they do for them is mending their Tools, for which every Man pays to his Smith a certain Rate of Corn in Harvest time according to ancient Custom. But if any hath work extraordinary, as making new Tools or the like, besides the aforesaid Rate of Corn, he must pay him for it. In order to this, they come in an humble manner to the Smith with a Present, being Rice, Hens, and other sorts of Provision, or a Bottle of Rack, desiring him to appoint his time, when they shall come to have their work done. Which when he hath appointed them, they come at the set time, and bring both Coals and Iron with them. The Smith sits very gravely upon his Stool, his Anvil before him, with his left hand towards the Forge, and a little Hammer in his Right. They themselves who come with their work must blow the Bellows, and when the Iron is to be beaten with the great Maul, he holds it, still sitting upon his Stool, and they must hammer it themselves, he only with his little Hammer knocking it sometimes into fashion. And if it be any thing to be filed, he makes them go themselves and grind it upon a Stone, that his labour of fileing may be the less; and when they have done it as well as they can, he goes over it again with his file and finisheth it. That which makes these Smiths thus stately is, because the Towns People are compelled to go to their own Smith, and none else. And if they should, that Smith is liable to pay Dammages that should do work for any in another Smith's Jurisdiction.

[p. 68.]

All that are of any Craft or Profession are accounted of an inferior degree, as Elephant-Catchers, and Keepers, who are reckoned equal with the Smiths, &c. abovesaid, tho they neither eat nor marry together; and these may wear Apparel as do the Hondrews, and sit on Stools, but the Hondrews eat not with them. *Craftsmen.*

No Artificers ever change their Trade from Generation to Generation; but the Son is the same as was his Father, and the Daughter marries only to those of the same Craft: and her Portion is such Tools as are of use, and do belong unto the Trade: tho the Father may give over and above what he pleaseth.

Next are Barbars; both the Women and Men may wear Doublets, but not sit on Stools, neither will any eat with them. *Barbars.*

Potters yet more Inferior, may not wear any Doublets, nor their Cloth much below the Knee, nor sit on Stools, neither will any eat with them. But they have this Privilege, because they make the Pots, that when they are athirst being at a Hondrew's House, they may take his Pot, which hath a Pipe to it, and pour the Water into their mouths themselves: which none other of these inferior degrees may be admitted to do: but they must hold their hands to their mouths and gape, and the Hondrews themselves will pour the Water in. The Potters were at first denied this Honour, upon which they joyntly agreed to make Pots with Pipes only for themselves, and would sell none to the Hondrews that wanted; whereat being constrained, they condescended to grant them the Honour above other inferior People, that they should have the favour to drink out of these Pots with spouts at their Houses. *Potters.*

The next are the Ruddaughs, Washers: Of these there are great Numbers. They wash Cloths for all People to the degree of a Potter; but for none below that degree. Their usual Posture is to carry a Cloth on their Shoulder, both Men and Women: They use Lye in their washing, setting a Pot over the Fire holding seven or eight Gallons [p. 69.] *Washers.*

of Water, and lay the foul Cloths on the top; and the steam of the water goes into the Cloths and scalds them. Then they take them and carry them to a River side, and instead of rubbing them with their hands, slap them against the Rock, and they become very clean; nor doth this tear the Cloths at all, as they order it.

Jaggory-Makers. Another rank after these are the Hungrams, or Jaggory-Makers. Tho none will eat with them, yet it is lawful to buy and eat the Jaggory they make, (which is a kind of Sugar) but nothing else.

The Poddah. Another sort among them is the Poddah. These are of no Trade or Craft, but are Husbandmen and Soldiers, yet are inferior to all that have been named hitherto. For what reason neither I, nor, I think, themselves can tell: only thus it falls to them by Succession from their Predecessors, and so will ever remain.

Weavers. After these are the Weavers. Who beside their Trade, which is Weaving Cloth, are Astrologers, and tell the People good Days and good Seasons: and at the Birth of a Child write for them an account of the day, time and Planet, it was born in and under. These accounts they keep with great Care all their Life-time: by which they know their Age, and what success or evil shall befall them.

These People also beat Drums, and play on Pipes, and dance in the Temples of their Gods, and at their Sacrifices; they eat and carry away all such Victuals as are offered to their Idols. Both which to do and take, is accounted to belong to People of a very low degree and quality. These also will eat dead Cows.

Basket-Makers. Next to the Weavers are the Kiddeas or Basket-Makers. Who make Fans to fan Corn, and Baskets of Canes, and Lace Bedsteds and Stools.

Mat-Makers. Then follow the Kinnerahs. Whose Trade is to make fine Matts. These Men may not wear any thing on their Heads. The Women of none of these sorts ever do. Of these two last there are but few.

The lower ranks may not assume the Habit or Names of the higher. All below the Couratto or Elephant-Men, may not sit on Stools, nor wear Doublets, except the Barbar, nor wear

the Cloth low down their Legs. Neither may any of these ranks of People, either Man or Woman, except the Potter and the Washer, wear the end of their Cloth to cover their Bodies, unless they be sick or cold. Neither may they presume to be called by the Names that the Hondrews are called by; nor may they, where they are not known, change themselves by pretending or seeming to be higher than Nature hath made them: and I think they never do, but own themselves in the rank and quality wherein they were born, and demean themselves accordingly.

All Outlandish People are esteemed above the inferior ranks. The Names of the Hondrews always end in oppow, of others below the degree of the Elephant People in adgah.

Slaves.

The Slaves may make another rank. For whose maintenance, their Masters allow them Land and Cattle. Which many of them do so improve; that except in Dignity they are not far behind their Masters, only they are not permitted to have Slaves. Their Masters will not diminish or take away ought, that by their Diligence and Industry they have procured, but approve of it, as being Persons capable to repose trust in. And when they do buy or [p. 70.] otherways get a new Slave, they presently provide him a Wife, and so put him forward to keep House, and settle, that he may not think of running away. Slaves that are born of Hondrew Parents, retain the Honour of their degree.

Beggars.

There is one sort of People more, and they are the Beggars: who for their Transgression, as hereafter shall be shewn, have by former Kings been made so low and base, that they can be no lower or baser. And they must and do give such titles and respects to all other People, as are due from other People to Kings and Princes.

The Reason they became so base and mean a People.

The Predecessors of these People, from whom they sprang, were Dodda Vaddahs, which signifies Hunters: to whom it did belong to catch and bring Venison for the King's Table. But instead of Venison they brought Man's flesh, unknown; which the King liking so well,

commanded to bring him more of the same sort of Venison. The King's Barbar chanced to know what flesh it was, and discovered it to him. At which the King was so inraged, that he accounted death too good for them; and to punish only those Persons that had so offended, not a sufficient recompence for so great an Affront and Injury as he had sustained by them. Forthwith therefore he established a Decree, that all both great and small, that were of that Rank or Tribe, should be expelled from dwelling among the Inhabitants of the Land, and not be admitted to use or enjoy the benefit of any means, or ways, or callings whatsoever, to provide themselves sustinence; but that they should beg from Generation to Generation, from Door to Door, thro the Kingdom; and to be looked upon and esteemed by all People to be so base and odious, as not possibly to be more.

And they are to this day so detestable to the People, that they are not permitted to fetch water out of their Wells; but do take their water out of Holes or Rivers. Neither will any touch them, lest they should be defiled.

And thus they go a begging in whole Troops, both Men, Women, and Children, carrying both Pots and Pans, Hens and Chickens, and whatsoever they have, in Baskets hanging on a Pole, at each end one, upon their Shoulders. The Women never carry any thing, but when they come to any House to beg, they Dance and shew Tricks, while the Men beat Drums. They will turn Brass Basons on one of their fingers, twirling it round very swift, and wonderfully strange. And they will toss up Balls into the Air one after another to the number of Nine, and catch them as they fall, and as fast as they do catch them, still they toss them up again; so that there are always Seven up in the Air. Also they will take Beads of several Colours, and of one size, and put them in their mouths, and then take them one by one out of their mouths again each Colours by themselves. And with this Behaviour, and the high and honourable Titles which they give, as to Men,

Your Honour, and Your Majesty; and to Women, Queens, Countesses; and to white Men, White of the Royal Blood, &c. They do beg for their living; and that with so much importunity, as if they had a Patent for it from the King, and will not be denied; pretending that it was so ordered and decreed, that by this very means they should be maintained, and unless they mean to perish with hunger they cannot accept of a denyal. The People on the other hand cannot without horrible shame, lift up their hand against them to strike or thrust them away; so [p. 71.] rather than to be troubled with their importunity, they will relieve them.

They live well.

And thus they live, building small Hovels in remote Places, and Highways, under Trees. And all the Land being, as it were of Necessity, Contributers towards their maintenance, these Beggars live without labour, as well or better, than the other sorts of People; being free from all sorts of Service and Duties, which all other are compelled to perform for the King. Of them it is only required to make Ropes of such Cow-hides, as die of themselves, to catch and tie Elephants with: By which they have another Privilege, to claim the flesh thereof for themselves, from the Weavers. Who when they meet with any dead Cows, use to cut them up and eat them. But if any of these Roudeahs, Beggars, see them, they will run to them and drive them away, offering to beat them with the Poles, whereon they carry their Baskets, saying to them, How can we perform the King's Service to make Ropes of the Hide, if the Weavers hack and spoil it? telling them also, That it is beneath such honourable People as they, to eat such Unclean and Polluted flesh. By these words, and the fear the Weavers are in to be touched by that base People, than which nothing could be more infamous, they are glad to get them away as fast as they can.

Their Contest with the Weavers about dead Cows.

Incest common among them.

These Men being so low that nothing they can do, can make them lower, it is not unusual with them to lay with their Daughters, or for the Son to lay with his Mother, as if there were no Consanguinity among them.

A Punishment to deliver Noble Women to these Beggars.

Many times when the King cuts off Great and Noble Men, against whom he is highly incensed, he will deliver their Daughters and Wives unto this sort of People, reckoning it, as they also account it, to be far worse Punishment than any kind of Death. This kind of Punishment being accounted such horrible Cruelty, the King doth usually of his Clemency shew them some kind of Mercy, and pittying their Distress, Commands to carry them to a River side, and there to deliver them into the hands of those, who are far worse than the Executioners of Death: from whom, if these Ladies please to free themselves, they are permitted to leap into the River and be drowned; the which some sometimes will choose to do, rather than to consort with them.

Some of these Beggars keep Cattle and shoot Deer.

There are some of this sort of People which dwell in remote Parts, distant from any Towns, and keep Cattle, and sell them to the Chingulayes, also shoot Deer and sell them where they fall in the Woods; for if they should but touch them, none would buy them.

Refuse Meat dressed in a Barbar's house.

The Barbar's Information having been the occasion of all this misery upon this People, they in revenge thereof abhor to eat what is dressed in the Barbar's House even to this day.

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Chap. III.

Of their Religion, Gods, Temples, Priests.

TO take a more particular view of the state of this Countrey, we shall first give some account of their Religion, as it justly requires the first place, and then of their other secular concerns.

Under their Religion will come to be considered, Their Gods, their Temples, their Priests, their Festivals, Sacrifices, and Worship, and their Doctrines and Opinions; and whatsoever other matters occur, that may concern this Subject.

Their Religion, their gods.

The Religion of the Countrey is Idolatry. There are

many both Gods and Devils, which they worship, known by particular Names, which they call them by. They do acknowledge one to be the Supreme, whom they call Ossa polla maupt Dio, which signifieth the Creator of Heaven and Earth; and it is he also, who still ruleth and governeth the same. This great Supreme God, they hold, sends forth other Deities to see his Will and Pleasure executed in the World; and these are the petty and inferior gods. These they say are the Souls of good men, who formerly lived upon the Earth. There are Devils also, who are the Inflicters of Sickness and Misery upon them. And these they hold to be the Souls of evil men.

They worship the God that saves Souls.

There is another great God, whom they call Buddou, unto whom the Salvation of Souls belongs. Him they believe once to have come upon the Earth. And when he was here, that he did usually sit under a large shady Tree, called Bogahah. Which Trees ever since are accounted Holy, and under which with great Solemnities they do to this day celebrate the Ceremonies of his Worship. He departed from the Earth from the top of the highest Mountain on the Island, called Pico Adam: where there is an Impression like a foot, which, they say, is his, as hath been mentioned before.

The Sun and Moon they repute Deities.

The Sun and Moon they seem to have an Opinion to be gods from the Names they sometimes call them by. The Sun in their Language is Irri, and the Moon Handa. To which they will sometimes add the Title Haumi, which is a name they give to Persons of the greatest Honour; and Dio, that signifies God: saying Irrihaumi, Irridio: Handahaumi, handa Dio. But to the Stars they give not these Titles.

Some of their Temples of exquisite Work.

The Pagoda's or Temples of their Gods are so many that I cannot number them. Many of them are of Rare and Exquisite work, built of Hewn Stone, engraven with Images and Figures; but by whom and when I could not attain to know, the Inhabitants themselves being ignorant therein. But sure I am they were built by far more Ingenious Artificers, than the Chingulayes that now are on

the Land. For the Portugueze in their Invasions have defaced some of them, which there is none found that hath Skill enough to repair to this day.

The form of their Temples.

The fashion of these Pagoda's are different; some, to wit those that were anciently built, are of better Workmanship, as was said before; but those lately erected are far Inferior; made only with Clay and Sticks, and no Windows. Some, viz. Those belonging to the Buddou, are in the [p. 73.] form of a Pigeon-House, foursquare, one Story high, and some two; the Room above has its Idols as well as that below. Some of them are Tiled, and some Thatched.

The shape of their Idols.

In them are Idols and Images most monstrous to behold, some of silver, some of brass and other metals: and also painted sticks, and Targets, and most strange kind of Arms, as Bills, Arrows, Spears and Swords. But these Arms are not in the Buddou's Temples, he being for Peace: therefore there are in his Temples only Images of men cross-legged with yellow coats on like the Gonni-Priests, their hair frisled, and their hands before them like women. And these they say are the spirits of holy men departed. Their Temples are adorned with such things as the peoples ability and poverty can afford; accounting it the highest point of Devotion, bountifully to dedicate such things unto their Gods, which in their estimation are most precious.

They worship not the Idol, but whom it represents.

As for these Images, they say they do not own them to be Gods themselves but only Figures, representing their Gods to their memories; and as such, they give to them honour and worship.

The revenues of the Temples; and the honours thereof.

Women having their natural infirmities upon them may not, neither dare they presume to come near the Temples or houses of their Gods. Nor the men, if they come out of houses where such women are.

They are dedicated to Gods.

Unto each of these Pagodas, there are great Revenues of Land belonging: which have been allotted to them by former Kings, according to the State of the Kingdom: but they have much impaired the Revenues of the Crown, there being rather more Towns belonging to the Church,

than unto the King. These estates of the Temples are to supply a daily charge they are at; which is to prepare victuals or sacrifices to set before the Idols. They have Elephants also as the King has, which serve them for State. Their Temples have all sorts of Officers belonging to them, as the Palace hath.

Most of these Pagodas are dedicated to the name and honour of those, whom they call Dio or Gods: to whom, they say, belong the Government on earth, and of all things appertaining to this life.

Private Chappels.

Besides these Publick Temples, many people do build in their yards private Chappels, which are little houses, like to Closets, sometimes so small, that they are not above two foot in bigness, but built upon a Pillar three or four foot from the ground wherein they do place certain Image of the Buddou, that they may have him near them, and to testifie their love and service to him. Which they do by lighting up candles and lamps in his house, and laying flowers every morning before him. And at some times they boyl victuals and lay it before him. And the more they perform such ceremonious service to him here, the more shall be their reward hereafter.

All blessings and good success, they say, come from the hand of God, but sickness and diseases proceed from the Devil; not that of himself he hath such absolute power, but as servants have power, licence and authority from their Masters, so they from God.

The Priests.

But the Gods will require some to wait at their Altars; and the Temples, men to officiate in them: their Priests therefore fall under the next consideration. Of these there are three sorts according to the three differences of Gods among them. And their Temples are also called by three different names.

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The first order of them.

The first and highest order of Priests are the Tirinanxes. Who are the Priests of the Buddou God. Their Temples are styled Vehars. There is a religious house in the City of Digligy, where they dwell and assemble and consult together about their affairs, which being the meeting place

of such holy men, they call it a Vihar also; they admit none to come into their order but persons of the most noble birth, and that have learning and be well bred; of such they admit many. But they do not presently upon their admission arrive unto the high degree of a Tirinanx. For of these there are but three or four: and they are chose out of all the rest of the order unto this degree. These Tirinanxes only live in the Vihar, and enjoy great Revenues, and are as it were the Superiors of all the Priests, and are made by the King.

Many of the Vehars are endowed and have Farms belonging to them. And these Tirinanxes are the Landlords, unto whom the Tenants come at a certain time and pay in their Rents. These Farmers live the easiest of any people in the Land, for they have nothing to do but at those set times to bring in their dues and so depart, and to keep in repair certain little Vehars in the Countrey. So that the rest of the Chingulais envy them and say of them, Though they live easy in this world, they cannot escape unpunished in the life to come for enjoying the Buddou's land and doing him so little service for it.

The habit of these Priests.

All the rest of the order are called Gonni. The habit is the same to the whole order, both Tirinanxes and Gonni. It is a yellow coat gathered together about their wast, and comes over their left shoulder, girt about with a belt of fine pack-thread. Their heads are shaved, and they go bare-headed and carry in their hands a round fan with a wooden handle, which is to keep the sun off ther heads.

Their Priviledges.

They have great benefit and honour. They enjoy their own lands without paying scot or lot or any Taxes to the King. They are honoured in such a measure, that the people, where ever they go, bow down to them as they do to their Gods, but themselves bow to none. They have the honour of carrying the Tallipot with the broad end over their heads foremost; which none but the King does: Wheresoever they come, they have a mat and a white cloth laid over upon a stool for them to sit upon; which is also an honour used only to the King.

They are debarred from laying their hands to any manner of work; and may not marry nor touch women, nor eat but one meal a day, unless it be fruit and rice and water, that they may eat morning and evening: nor must they drink wine. They will eat any lawful flesh that is dressed for them, but they will have no hand in the death of it; as to give order or consent to the killing of it. *What they are prohibited.*

They may lay down their order, if they please; which some do, that they may marry. This is done by pulling off their coat, and flinging it into a River, and washing themselves head and body, and then they become like other lay-men.

There is a benefit that accrueth to them, which is, when any man is minded to provide for his soul, they bring one of these Priests under a cloth held up by four men, unto his house, with drums and Pipes and great solemnity which only can be done unto the King besides. Then they give him great entertainment and bestows gifts on him according as they are able: which, after he hath tarried a day or more, they carry for him, and conduct him home with the like solemnities as he came. But the night that he tarries with them he must sing Bonna, that is matter concerning their Religion out of a Book made of the leaves of Tallipot: and then he tells them the meaning of what he sings, it being in an eloquent style which the Vulgar people do not understand. *When any is religiously disposed, these Priests sent for in great ceremony.* [p. 75.]

Some of these Priests, against whom the King took displeasure, were beheaded, afterwards cast into the River. Which thing caused amazement in all the people, how the King durst presume to do it towards such holy and reverend persons. *None ever used violence towards them before the present King.*

And none heretofore by any former Kings have ever been so served: being reputed and called Sons of Boddou. But the reason the King slew them was because they conspired in the Rebellion. They threw aside their Habits, and got their swords by their sides.

The second order of Priests are those called Koppuhs. Who are the Priests that belong to the Temples of the *The second order of their Priests.*

other Gods. Their Temples are called Dewals. These are not distinguished by any habit from the rest of the People, no, nor when they are at their worship; only they wear clean cloths, and wash themselves before they go to their service. These are taken out from among the Hondrews. They enjoy a piece of Land that belongs to the Dewal where they officiate, and that is all their benefit, unless they steal somewhat that is dedicated to the Gods. They follow their Husbandry and employments as other men do, but only when the times of worship are, which usually is every morning and evening, oftner or seldomer according as the Revenue will hold out, that belongs to that Temple, whereof each is Priest. The service is, that when the boyled rice and other victuals are brought to the Temple door by others, he takes it and presents it before the Idol. Whence, after it hath stood a while, he brings it out again, and then the drummers, pipers, and other servants that belong to the Temple, eat it. These Gods have never any flesh brought in sacrifice to them, but any thing else.

The third order.

The third order of Priests are the Jaddeses, Priests of the Spirits, which they call Dayautaus. Their Temples are called Covels, which are inferior to the other Temples, and have no revenues belonging to them. A man piously disposed, builds a small house at his own charge, which is the Temple, and himself becomes Priest thereof. Therein are Bills, and Swords, and Arrows, and Shields, and Images, painted upon the walls like fierce men. This house is seldom called Gods house, but most usually Jacco, the Devils. Upon some extradinary festival to the Jacco, the Jaddese shaves off all his beard.

How they dedicate a red Cock to the Devil.

When they are sick, they dedicate a red Cock to the Devil. Which they do after this manner. They send for the Jaddese to their house, and give him a red Cock chicken, which he takes up in his hand and holds an Arrow with it, and dedicates it to the God, by telling him that if he restore the party to his health, that Cock is given to him; and shall be dressed and sacrificed to him in his Covel.

A Tirinanxy or Cheif Preist

They then let the Cock go among the rest of the Poultry, and keep it afterwards, it may be, a year or two: and then they carry it to the Temple, or the Priest comes for it. For sometimes he will go round about, and fetch a great many Cocks together, that have been dedicated, telling the owners that he must make a sacrifice to the God; though it may be when he hath them, he will go to some other place and convert them into mony for his own use, as I [p. 76.] my self can witness. We could buy three of them for four pence half-peny.

When the people are minded to enquire any thing of their Gods, the Priests take up some of the Arms and Instruments of the Gods, that are in the Temples, upon his shoulder; and then he either fains himself to be mad, or really is so: which the people call Pissowetitch; and then the spirit of the Gods is in him, and whatsoever he pronounceth, is looked upon as spoken by God himself, and the people will speak to him, as if it were the very person of God.

Chap. IV.

Concerning their Worship, and Festivals.

The chief days of worship.

WEdnesdays and Saturdays are the days, when people, who have any business with the Gods, come and address themselves; that is either to pray to their God for health, or for their help in some weighty matters, as in War &c. or to swear concerning any matter in controversy, which is done before the Idols.

How they know what God or Devil hath made them sick.

But one of their great and frequent businesses with their Gods is for the Recovery of health. And that God or Devil that hath made them sick, in his power only it is to restore them. Therefore when they feel themselves sick or sore, first, they use means to know which God or Devil hath been the cause or author thereof. Which to find they use these means. With any little stick they make a

bow, and on the string thereof they hang a thing they have to cut Betel-nuts, somewhat like a pair of Sizzars; then holding the stick or Bow by both ends, they repeat the names of all both Gods and Devils: and when they come to him who hath afflicted them, then the Iron on the bow-string will swing. They say by that sign they know their ilness proceeds from the power of that God last named; but I think this happens by the power of the Hands that hold it. The God being thus found, to him chiefly they offer their oblations and sacrifices.

The Gods of their fortunes.

There are nine Deities, which they call Gerehah, which are the Planets (reckoning in probably the Dragons head and Tail.) From whom proceed their Fortunes. These they reckon so powerful, that if they be ill affected towards any party, neither God nor Devil can revoke it.

What worship they give the Planets.

When they are disposed to worship these Gerehah, they make Images of Clay according to the number that stand disaffected, towards them, which by certain Magick Tricks they know. These Images, which are made by the Weavers, they paint of divers colours, of horrible and monstrous shapes; some with long tusks like a Boar, some with hornes like a Bull, all in a most deformed manner, but something resembling the shape of a man. Before them they prostrate Victuals, the sick party sitting all the while before them. These ceremonies are always celebrated in the night with Drums and Pipes and dancing until almost day, and then they take these Images and cast them out into the high ways to be trampled under foot: and the Victuals taken away and eaten by the attendants, and despicable people that wait there on purpose.

[p. 77.]
What worship they give Devils.

When they worship those whom they call Devils, many of whom they hold to be the Spirits of some that died heretofore, they make no Images for them, as they did for the Planets; but only build a new house in their yard, like a Barn very slight, covered only with leaves, and adorn it with Branches and Flowers. Into this House they bring some of the Weapons or Instruments, which are in the Pagods or Temples, and place them on Stools

at one end of the house, which is hanged with Cloth for that purpose, and before them on other Stools they lay Victuals: and all that time of the Sacrifice there is Drumming, Piping, Singing, and Dancing. Which being ended, they take the Victuals away, and give it to those which Drum and Pipe, with other Beggars and Vagabonds; for only such do eat of their Sacrifices; not that they do account such things hallowed, and so dare not presume to eat them, but contrariwise they are now looked upon as polluted meat. And if they should attempt to eat thereof, it would be a reproach to them and their Generations.

Who eat the Sacrifices.

These Spirits or Gods are local. For those which they worship in one County or part of the Land, are not known or owned to have power over the People in other parts. But each Countrey hath several Spirits or Devils, that are peculiar to those places, and do domineer over them, and are known by several names they call them by: under whose subjection the People do acknowledge themselves to be: and, as I well perceive, do stand in a greater awe of them, than they do of them, whom they call and own to be their Gods.

Their Gods are local.

And indeed it is sad to consider, how this poor People are subjected to the Devil, and they themselves acknowledge it their misery, saying their Countrey is so full of Devils, and evil Spirits, that unless in this manner they should adore them, they would be destroyed by them. Christians they do acknowledge have a Prerogative above themselves, and not to be under the Power of these infernal Spirits.

The subjection of this People to the Devil.

I have many times seen Men and Women of this People strangely possest, insomuch that I could judge it nothing else but the effect of the Devil's power upon them: and they themselves do acknowledge as much. In the like condition to which I never saw any that did profess to be a worshipper of the Holy Name of Jesus. They that are thus possest, some of them will run mad into the Woods, screeching and roaring, but do mischief to none; some will be taken so as to be speechless, shaking, and

Sometimes the Devil possesses them.

quaking, and dancing, and will tread upon the fire and not be hurt; they will also talk idle, like distracted folk.

This may last sometimes two or three Months, sometimes two or three dayes. Now their Friends reckoning it to proceed from the Devil, do go to him and promise him a reward if he will cure them. Sometimes they are cured, and sometimes die. The People do impute this madness to some breach of promise that the Party affected had made to the Devil, or else for eating some fruit or Betel-leaves dedicated to him: For they do dedicate some fruit-trees to the Devil; and this they do, to prevent People from stealing them (which few will dare to do after such a Dedication) and also to excuse themselves in not bestowing their fruit upon any that might ask or desire it. But before this dedicated fruit is lawful for them to use, they must carry some of it to the Temple.

[p. 78.] *The Devil's Voice often heard.*

This for certain I can affirm, That oftentimes the Devil doth cry with an audible Voice in the Night; 'tis very shrill almost like the barking of a Dog. This I have often heard my self; but never heard that he did any body any harm. Only this observation the Inhabitants of the Land have made of this Voice, and I have made it also, that either just before or very suddenly after this Voice, the King always cuts off People. To believe that this is the Voice of the Devil these reasons urge, because there is no Creature known to the Inhabitants, that cry like it, and because it will on a sudden depart from one place, and make a noise in another, quicker than any fowl could fly: and because the very Dogs will tremble and shake when they hear it; and 'tis so accounted by all the People.

This Voice is heard only in Conde Uda, and never in the Low Lands. When the Voice is near to a Chingulaye's house, he will curse the Devil, calling him Geremoi goulammah, Beef-eating Slave be gone, be damned, cut his Nose off, beat him a pieces. And such like words of Railery, and this they will speak aloud with noise, and passion, and threatning. This Language I have heard them bestow upon the Voice; and the Voice upon this

always ceaseth for a while, and seems to depart, being heard at a greater distance.

Their Sacrifice to the chief Devil.

When smaller Devils do fail them, they repair unto the great one. Which they do after this manner. They prepare an Offering of Victuals ready dressed; one dish whereof is always a red Cock. Which they do as frequently offer to the Devil, as Papists do Wax-Candles to Saints. This Offering they carry out into a remote place in the Woods, and prostrate it to the honour and service of the Grand Devil, before which there are men in an horrible disguise like Devils, with Bells about their Legs and Doublets of a strange fashion, dancing and singing, to call, if it were possible, the Devil himself to come and eat of the Sacrifices they have brought; the sick Party is all the while present.

Their Festivals.

I have hitherto spoke of their ordinary and daily Worship, and their private and occasional Devotions; besides these they have their solemn and annual Festivals. Now of these there are two sorts, some belonging to their Gods that govern the Earth, and all things referring to this life; and some belonging to the Buddou, whose Province is to take care of the Soul and future well-being of Men.

Festivals to the honour of the Gods that govern this World.

The great Festival in June.

I shall first mention the Festivals of the former sort. They are two or three. That they may therefore honour these Gods, and procure their aid and assistance, they do yearly in the Month of June or July, at a New Moon, observe a solemn Feast and general Meeting, called Perahar; but none are compelled, and some go to one Pagoda, and some to another. The greatest Solemnity is performed in the City of Cande; but at the same time the like Festival or Perahar is observed in divers other Cities and Towns of the Land. The Perahar at Cande is ordered after this manner.

The Priest bringeth forth a painted stick, about which strings of Flowers are hanged, and so it is wrapped in branched Silk, some part covered, and some not; before which the People bow down and worship; each one presenting him with an Offering according to his free will.

These free-will Offerings being received from the People, the Priest takes his painted stick on his Shoulder, having
[p. 79.] a Cloth tied about his mouth to keep his breath from defiling this pure piece of Wood, and gets up upon an Elephant all covered with white Cloth, upon which he rides with all the Triumph that King and Kingdom can afford, thro all the Streets of the City. But before him go, first some Forty or Fifty Elephants, with brass Bells hanging on each side of them, which tingle as they go.

Next, follow men dressed up like Gyants, which go dancing along agreeable to a Tradition they have, that anciently there were huge men, that could carry vast Burthens, and pull up Trees by the Roots, &c. After them go a great multitude of Drummers, and Trumpetters, and Pipers, which make such a great and loud noise, that nothing else besides them can be heard. Then followeth a Company of Men dancing along, and after these Women of such Casts or Trades as are necessary for the service of the Pagoda, as Potters and Washer-women, each cast goeth in Companies by themselves, three and three in a row, holding one another by the hand; and between each Company go Drummers, Pipers and Dancers.

After these comes an Elephant with two Priests on his back: one whereof is the Priest before spoken of, carrying the painted stick on his Shoulder, who represents Allout neur Dio, that is, the God and Maker of Heaven and Earth. The other sits behind him, holding a round thing, like an Umbrello, over his head, to keep off Sun or Rain. Then within a yard after him on each hand of him follow two other Elephants mounted with two other Priests, with a Priest sitting behind each, holding Umbrello's as the former, one of them represents Cotteragom Dio, and the other Potting Dio. These three Gods that ride here in Company are accounted of all other the greatest and chiefest, each one having his residence in a several Pagoda.

Behind go their Cook-women, with things like whisks in their hands to scare away flies from them; but very fine as they can make themselves.

Next after the Gods and their Attendance, go some Thousands of Ladies and Gentlewomen, such as are of the best sort of the Inhabitants of the Land, arrayed in the bravest manner that their Ability can afford, and so go hand in hand three in a row: At which time all the Beauties on Zelone in their Bravery do go to attend upon their Gods in their Progress about the City. Now are the Streets also all made clean, and on both sides all along the Streets Poles stuck up with Flags and Pennons hanging at the tops of them, and adorned with boughs and branches of Coker Nut-Trees hanging like Fringes, and lighted Lamps all along on both sides of the Streets, both by day and night.

Last of all, go the Commanders sent from the King to see these Ceremonies decently performed, with their Soldiers after them. And in this manner they ride all round about the City once by day and once by night. This Festival lasts from the New Moon until the Full Moon.

Formerly the King himself in Person used to ride on Horseback with all his Train before him in this Solemnity, but now he delights not in these Shows.

Always before the Gods set out to take their Progress, they are set in the Pagoda-Door, a good while, that the People may come to worship and bring their Offerings unto them; during which time there are Dancers, playing and shewing many pretty Tricks of Activity before them. To see the which, and also to shew themselves in their Bravery, occasions more People to resort hither, than otherwise their Zeal and Devotion would prompt them to do. [p. 80.]

Two or three days before the Full Moon, each of these Gods hath a Pallenkine carried after them to add unto their honour. In the which there are several pieces of their superstitious relicts, and a Silver Pot. Which just, at the hour of Full Moon they ride out unto a River, and dip full of water, which is carried back with them into the Temple, where it is kept till the year after and then flung away. And so the Ceremony is ended for that year.

This Festival of the Gods taking their Progress thro the City, in the year 1664. the King would not permit to be performed; and that same year the Rebellion happened, but never since hath he hindred it.

At this time they have a Superstition, which lasteth six or seven days, too foolish to write; it consists in Dancing, Singing, and Jugling. The reason of which is, lest the eyes of the People, or the Power of the Jacco's, or Infernal Spirits, might any ways prove prejudicial or noisom to the aforesaid Gods in their Progress abroad. During the Celebration of this great Festival, there are no Drums allowed to be beaten to any particular Gods at any private Sacrifice.

The Feast in November.

In the Month of November the Night when the Moon is at the Full, there is another great solemn Feast, called in their Language Cawtha Poujah. Which is celebrated only by lighting of Lamps round about the Pogada. At which time they stick up the longest Poles they can get in the Woods, at the Doors of the Pagods and of the King's Palace. Upon which they make contrivances to set Lamps in rows one above the other, even unto the very tops of the Poles, which they call Tor-nes. To maintain the charge hereof, all the Countrey in general do contribute, and bring in Oil. In this Poujah or Sacrifice the King seems to take delight. The reason of which may be, because he participates far more of the Honour, than the Gods do, in whose name it is celebrated; his Palace being far more decked and adorned with high Poles and Lights, than the Temples are. This Ceremony lasteth but for one Night.

The Festival in honour of the God of the Soul.

And these are their Anniversary Feasts to the honour of those Gods, whose power extends to help them in this Life; now follows the manner of their Service to the Buddou, who it is, they say, that must save their Souls, and the Festival in honour of him.

To represent the memorial of him to their eye, they do make small Images of Silver, Brass, and Clay, and Stone, which they do honour with Sacrifices and Worship, shew-

ing all the signs of outward reverence which possibly they can. In most places where there are hollow Rocks and Caves, they do set up Images in memorial of this God. Unto which they that are devoutly bent, at New and Full Moons do carry Victuals, and worship.

His great Festival is in the Month of March at their New-years Tide. The Places where he is commemorated are two, not Temples, but the one a Mountain and the other a Tree; either to the one or the other, they at this time go with Wives and Children, for Dignity and Merit one being esteemed equal with the other.

The Mountain is at the South end of the Countrey, [p. 81.] called Hammalella, but by Christian People, Adam's Peak, the highest in the whole Island; where, as has been said before, is the Print of the Buddou's foot, which he left on the top of that Mountain in a Rock, from whence he ascended to Heaven. Unto this footstep they give worship, light up Lamps, and offer Sacrifices, laying them upon it, as upon an Altar. The benefit of the Sacrifices that are offered here do belong unto the Moors Pilgrims, who come over from the other Coast to beg, this having been given them heretofore by a former King. So that at that season there are great numbers of them always waiting there to receive their accustomed Fees.

The Tree is at the North end of the King's Dominions at Annarodgburro. This Tree, they say, came flying over from the other Coast, and there planted it self, as it now stands, under which the Buddou-God at his being on earth used, as they say, often to sit. This is now become a place of solemn worship. The due performance whereof they reckon not to be a little meritorious: insomuch that, as they report, Ninety Kings have since reigned there successively, where by the ruins that still remain, it appears they spared not for pains and labour to build Temples and high Monuments to the honour of this God, as if they had been born only to hew Rocks, and great Stones, and lay them up in heaps. These Kings are now happy Spirits, having merited it by these their labours.

Those whose Ability or Necessity serve them not to go to these Places, may go to some private Vihars nearer.

The high honour they have for this God.

For this God above all other, they seem to have an high respect and Devotion; as will appear by this that follows. Ladies and Gentlewomen of good Quality, will sometimes in a Fit of Devotion to the Buddou, go a begging for him. The greatest Ladies of all do not indeed go themselves, but send their Maids dressed up finely in their stead. These Women taking the Image along with them, carry it upon the palms of their hand covered with a piece of white Cloth; and so go to mens houses, and will say, We come a begging of your Charity for the Buddou towards his Sacrifice. And the People are very liberal. They give only of three things to him, either Oyl for his Lamps, or Rice for his Sacrifice, or Money or Cotton Yarn for his use.

Poor men will often go about begging Sustenance for themselves by this means: They will get a Book of Religion, or a Buddou's Image in a Case, wrapping both in a white Cloth, which they carry with great reverence. And then they beg in the name of the Book or the God. And the People bow down to them, and give their Charity, either Corn, or Money, or Cotton yarn. Sometimes they will tell the Beggar, What have I to give? And he will reply, as the saying is, as much as you can take up between your two fingers is Charity. After he has received a gift from any, he pronounceth a great deal of blessing upon him, Let the blessing of the Gods and the Buddou go along with you; let your Corn ripen, let your Cattle increase, let your Life be long, &c.

Some being devoutly disposed, will make the Image of this God at their own charge. For the making whereof they must bountifully reward the Founder. Before the Eyes are made, it is not accounted a God, but a lump of ordinary Metal, and thrown about the Shop with no more regard than any thing else. But when the Eyes are to be made, the Artificer is to have a good gratification, besides the first agreed upon reward. The Eyes being formed,

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it is thenceforward a God. And then, being brought with honour from the Workman's Shop, it is dedicated by Solemnities and Sacrifices, and carried with great state into its shrine or little house, which is before built and prepared for it.

Sometimes a man will order the Smith to make this Idol, and then after it is made will go about with it to well-disposed People to contribute toward the Wages the Smith is to have for making it. And men will freely give towards the charge. And this is looked upon in the man that appointed the Image to be made, as a notable piece of Devotion.

I have mentioned the Bogahah Tree before, which in memory of this God they hold Sacred, and perform Sacrifices, and celebrate Religious Meetings under. Under this Tree at some convenient distance about ten or twelve foot at the outmost edge of the Platform, they usually build Booths or Tents; some are made slight only with leaves for the present use, but some are built substantial with hewn Timber and Clay Walls, which stand many years. These Buildings are divided into small Tenements for each particular Family. The whole Town joyns, and each man builds his own Appartment: so that the Building goes quite round like a circle, only one gap is left, which is to pass thro to the Bogahah Tree: and this gap is built over with a kind of Portal. The use of these Buildings is for the entertainment of the Women. Who take great delight to come and see these Ceremonies, clad in their best and richest Apparel. They employ themselves in seeing the Dancers, and the Juglers do their Tricks: who afterwards by their importunity will get Money of them, or a Ring off their Fingers, or some such matters. Here also they spend their time in eating Betel, and in talking with their Consorts, and shewing their fine Cloths. These Solemnities are always in the Night, the Booths all set round with Lamps; nor are they ended in one Night, but last three or four, until the Full Moon, which always puts a Period to them. [Chap. V.

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Chap. V.

Concerning their Religions, Doctrines, Opinions, and Practices.

As to their Religion they are very indifferent.

There are few or none zealous in their worship, or have any great matter of esteem for their Gods. And they seldom busie themselves in the matters of their Religion, until they come to be sick or very aged. They debar none that will come to see the Ceremonies of their worship; and if a stranger should dislike their way, reprove or mock at them for their Ignorance and Folly, they would acknowledge the same, and laugh at the superstitions of their own Devotion, but withall tell you that they are constrained to do what they do, to keep themselves safe from the malice and mischiefs that the evil spirits would otherwise do them, with which, they say, their Country swarm.

If their Gods answer not their desires, they Curse them.

Sometimes in their Sickness they go to the House of their Gods with an Offering, with which they present him, intreating his favour and aid to restore them to health. Upon the recovery whereof they promise him not to fail but to give unto His Majesty (for so they entitle him) far greater Gifts or Rewards, and what they are, they do particularly mention; it may be, Land, a Slave, Cattle, Money, Cloth, &c. and so they will discourse, argue and expostulate with him, as if he were there present in Person before them. If after this, he fails on his part, and cannot restore them to their health, then the fore-promised things are to remain where they were: and instead of which perhaps he gets a Curse, saying, He doth but cheat and deceive them.

They undervalue and revile their Gods.

It is a usual saying, and very frequent among them (if their Gerahah, which is their fortune, be bad) What can God do against it: Nay, I have often heard them say, Give him no Sacrifice, but shit in his Mouth, what a God is He? So slight an estimation have they of their Idol-Gods; and the King far less esteems them. For he doth

not in the least give any countenance either to the Worshipper, or to the manner of worship. And God's name be magnified, that hath not suffered him to disturb or molest the Christians in the least in their Religion, or ever attempt to force them to comply with the Countreys Idolatry. But on the contrary, both King and People do generally like the Christian Religion better than their own: and respect and honour the Christians as Christians; and do believe there is a greater God than any they adore. And in all probability they would be very easily drawn to the Christian or any other Religion: as will appear by this story following.

A fellow gives out himself for a Prophet.

There was lately one among them that pretended himself a Prophet sent to them from a new God, that as yet was nameless. At which the People were amused, especially because he pretended to heal the Sick, and do Miracles: and presently he was had in high veneration. He gave out it was the command of the new nameless God to spoil and pull down the Dewals, that is, the Temples of the former Gods. This he made a good progress in, with no let or impediment from King or People. The King all this while inclined neither to one or other, as not regarding such matters, until he might see which of these Gods would prevail, the old or the new. For this People stand in fear of all that are called Gods; and this especially surprized [p. 84.] them, because without a Name; so contrary to all their old ones, who have Names. This new-found God therefore went on boldly and successfully without controul: the *His Success.* People all in general began to admire him thus come among them. And great troops of People daily assembled thither with Sacrifices, and to worship him. Whereby seeing their inclination so strong towards him, he began to perceive it was not only possible, but also easie and probable to change his Priesthood for a Kingdom.

The King sends for one of his Priests.

At which time, whether the King began to suspect or not, I cannot say; but he sent for one of his Priests to be brought up to the Court. For this God had his residence in the Countrey at Vealbow in Hotcourly, somewhat

remote from the King. This Priest having remained at the City some days, the King took a Ring from off his Finger, and put it in an Ivory Box, and sent it by three of his great Men to him, bidding him to enquire of his nameless God what it was that was therein; which amazed this Priest; but he returned this subtil answer, that he was not sent to divine, but to heal the Diseases and help the Infirmities of the People. Upon which the King gave Command to take him and put him in the Stocks under a Tree, there to be wet with the Rain, and dry again with the Sun. Which was executed upon him accordingly.

Flies to Columba, pretends himself to be a former King's Son.

The Chief Priest, who was the first Inventor of this new God, hearing what the King had done, and fearing what might follow, suddenly dispatched, and carried all what he had plundered out of the Pagods with him to Columba, and stole one of the King's Elephants to carry it upon. Where being arrived, he declares himself to be Son of the King of Mautoly; who was elder Brother to this King that now is, and for fear of whom he fled to Columba; being at that time when the Portugals had it, who sent him to Goa, where he died.

Flies from the Dutch.

This being noised abroad that he was a Prince, made the People flock faster to him than before. Which changed both his heart and behaviour from a Priest to a King. Insomuch that the Dutch began to be in doubt what this might grow to. Who to prevent the worst, set a watch over him: which he not liking of, took the advantage of the night, and fled with all his Followers and Attendance up to the King again, and came to the same place where he lay before.

The King catches and quarters him.

No sooner had the King notice of his arrival, but immediately he dispatched five of his greatest Commanders with their Soldiers to catch him, and to bring him up to him. Which they did, laying both him and all his followers in Chains. The King commanded to keep him in a certain Pagoda of the Chingulayes, until the matter were examined, the People in general much lamenting him, tho not able to help. The chief of their Church-men, viz.

their Gonni-nancies, were all commanded to make their Personal appearance at Court. Which all thought was to see the Prince or Priest, should have a legal Trial. But in the mean time, the King commanded to cut him in four quarters, and hang them in places, which he appointed. Which was done.

The Peoples opinion still of this new God.

Nevertheless the Vulgar People to this day do honour and adore the name & memorial of the nameless God. With which if he could have been content, and not have gone about to usurp the Crown, the King so little regarding Religion, he might have lived to dye a natural death.

[p. 85.] *Their Doctrins and Opinions.*

These people do firmly believe a resurrection of the body, and the Immortality of Souls, and a future State. Upon which account they will worship their Ancestors. They do believe that those they call Gods are the spirits of men that formerly have lived upon the earth. They hold that in the other world, those that are good men tho they be poor and mean in this world, yet there they shall become high and eminent; and that wicked men shall be turned into beasts. There is a Spider among them, that breeds an Egg, which she carries under her belly, 'tis as wide as a groat, and bigger then the body of the Spider. This egg is full of young Spiders that breed there: it hangs under her belly wheresoever she goes: and as their young ones grow to bigness they eat up the old one. Now the Chingulayes say, that disobedient children shall become Spiders in the other world, and their young ones shall eat them up.

They hold that every mans good or bad Fortune was predetermined by God, before he was born, according to an usual Proverb they have, Ollua cottaula tiana, It is written in the head.

The highest points of Devotion.

They reckon the chief poynts of goodness to consist in giving to the Priests, in making Pudgiahs, sacrifices to their Gods, in forbearing shedding the blood of any creature: which to do they call Pau boi, a great sin: and in abstaining from eating any flesh at all, because they would not have any hand, or any thing to do in killing

any living thing. They reckon Herbs and Plants more innocent food. It is religion also to sweep under the Bogaha or God-Tree, and keep it clean. It is accounted religion to be just and sober and chast and true, and to be endowed with other vertues, as we do account it.

Their Charity.

They give to the poor out of a Principle of Charity, which they extend to forraigners, as well as to their own Country-men. But of every measure of rice they boyl in their houses for their families they will take out an handful, as much as they can gripe, and put into a bag, and keep it by it self, which they call Mitta-haul. And this they give and distribute to such poor as they please, or as come to their doors.

The Priviledg of the Moorish Beggars.

Nor are they charitable only to the poor of their own Nation, but as I said to others: and particularly to the Moorish beggars, who are Mahometans by religion. These have a Temple in Cande. A certain former king gave this Temple this Priviledg, that every Free-holder should contribute a Ponnam to it. And these Moors go to every house in the land to receive it. And if the house be shut, they have power to break it open, and to take out of goods to the value of it. They come very confidently when they beg, and they say they come to fulfill the peoples charity. And the people do liberrally releive them for charity sake.

There is only one County in the Land, viz. Dolusbaug, that pays not the aforesaid duty to the Moors Temple. And the reason is, that when they came first thither to demand it, the Inhabitants beat them away. For which act they are free from the payment of that Ponnam, and have also another priviledg granted them for the same, That they pay no Marral, or Harriots, to the King as other Countreys do.

These Moors Pilgrims have many pieces of Land given them by well disposed persons out of charity, where they build houses and live. And this land becomes theirs from generation to generation for ever.

[p. 86.] *They respect Christians, and why.*

They lay Flowers, out of religion, before their Images every morning and evening, for which Images they build

little Chappels in their yards as we said before. They carry beads in their hands on strings, and say so many prayers as they go. Which custom in all probability they borrowed of the Portugueze. They love a man that makes conscience of his ways. Which makes them respect Christians more than any others, because they think they are just and will not lye. And thus we have finished our discourse of their Religion.

Chap. VI.

Concerning their Houses, Diet, Housewifry, Salutation, Apparel.

Having already treated of their Religion, we now come to their secular concerns. And first we will lead you into their houses, and shew you how they live.

Their houses.

Their Houses are small, low, thatched Cottages, built with sticks, daubed with clay, the walls made very smooth. For they are not permitted to build their houses above one story high, neither may they cover with tiles, nor whiten their walls with lime, but there is a Clay which is as white, and that they use sometimes. They employ no Carpenters, or house-builders, unless some few noble-men, but each one buildeth his own dwelling. In building whereof there is not so much as a nail used; but instead of them every thing which might be nailed, is tyed with rattans and other strings, which grow in the woods in abundance; whence the builder hath his Timber for cutting. The Country being warm, many of them will not take pains to clay their walls, but make them of boughs and leaves of Trees. The poorest sort have not above one room in their houses, few above two, unless they be great men. Neither doth the King allow them to build better.

No Chimneys.

They are not nice nor curious in their houses. They have no Chimneys in them, but make their fires in one corner, so that the roof is all blacked with the smoak.

The houses of the better sort. The great people have handsom and commodious houses. They have commonly two buildings one opposit to the other, joined together on each side with a wall, which makes a square Court-yard in the middle. Round about against the walls of their houses are banks of clay to sit on; which they often daub over with soft Cow-dung, to keep them smooth and clean. Their Slaves and Servants dwell round about without in other houses with their wives and children.

Their Furniture. Their Furniture is but small. A few earthen pots which hang up in slings made of Canes in the middle of their houses, having no shelves; one or two brass Basons to eat in, a stool or two without backs. For none but the King may sit upon a stool with a back. There are also some baskets to put corn in, some mats to spread upon the ground to sleep on: which is the bedding both for themselves and friends when they come to their houses. Also some Ebeny pestels about four foot long to beat rice out [p. 87.] of the husk, and a wooden Morter to beat it in afterwards to make it white, a Hirimony or Grater to grate their Coker-nuts with, a flat stone upon which they grind their Pepper and Turmeric, &c. With another stone which they hold in their hands at the same time. They have also in their houses Axes, Bills, Houghs, Atches, Chissels, and other Tools for their use. Tables they have none, but sit and eat on the ground.

How they eat. And now we are mentioning eating, let us take a view of this people at their meals. Their Dyet and ordinary fare is but very mean, as to our account. If they have but Rice and Salt in their house, they reckon they want for nothing. For with a few green Leaves and the juice of a Lemmon with Pepper and Salt, they will make a hearty meal. Beef here may not be eaten; it is abominable: Flesh and Fish is somewhat scarce. And that little of it they have, they had rather sell to get mony to keep, then eat it themselves: neither is there any but outlandish men, that will buy any of them. It is they indeed do eat the fat and best of the Land. Nor is it counted any shame

or disgrace, to be a niggard and sparing in dyet; but rather a credit even to the greatest of them, that they can fare hard and suffer hunger, which they say, Soldiers ought to be able to endure.

How the great men eat.

The great ones have always five or six sorts of food at one meal, and of them not above one or two at most of Flesh or Fish, and of them more pottage than meat, after the Portugal fashion. The rest is only what groweth out of the ground. The main substance with which they fill their bellies is Rice, the other things are but to give it a relish.

Discouraged from nourishing Cattel.

If these people were not discouraged from rearing and nourishing of Cattle and Poultry, provisions might be far more plentiful. For here are many Jackalls, which catch their Hens; and some Tigres, that destroy their Cattle: but the greatest of all is the King; whose endeavour is to keep them poor and in want. For from them that have Hens his Officers take them for the Kings use giving little or nothing for them; the like they do by Hogs, Goats none are suffered to keep, besides the King, except strangers.

Cleanly in dressing their meet.

In dressing of their victuals they are not to be discommended: for generally they are cleanly and very handy about the same. And after one is used to that kind of fare, as they dress it, it is very savoury and good. They sit upon a mat on the ground, and eat. But he, whom they do honour and respect, sits on a stool and his victuals on another before him.

Their drink and manner of eating.

Their common drink is only water: and if they drink Rack, it is before they eat, that it may have the more operation upon their bodies. When they drink they touch not the Pot with their mouths, but hold it at a distance, and pour it in. They eat their Rice out of China dishes, or Brass Basons, and they that have not them, on leaves. The Carrees, or other sorts of Food which they eat with their Rice, is kept in the Pans it is dressed in, and their wives serve them with it, when they call for it. For it is their duties to wait and serve their Husbands while they eat, and when they have done, then to take and eat that

which they have left upon their Trenchers. During their eating they neither use nor delight to talk to one another.

Their manner of washing before and after meals. [p. 88.]

They always wash their hands and mouths both before and after they have eaten; but for others to pour the water on their hands is looked upon as an affront. For so they do to them, whom they account not worthy to handle their Water pot. But when they wash, with one hand they pour it themselves upon the other. They are very cleanly both in their bodies and heads, which they do very often wash, and also when they have been at stool they make use of water.

None must speak while the Rice is put into the Pot.

But to give you a little of their Cookery. If People be in the room talking together, the woman being ready to put the Rice into the Pot, bids them all be silent till she has put it in, and then they may procede with their discourse. For if they should talk while the Rice is putting in, it would not swell.

Sawce made of Lemmon juyce.

At the time of the year that there is most plenty of Lemmons, they take them and squeez the juyce into an earthen Pot, and set over the fire, and boil it so long, till it becomes thick and black like Tar. This they set by for their use, and it will keep as long as they please. A very small quantity of it will suffice for sawce. They call it Annego.

Their sweet meats.

They have several sorts of sweet-meats. One they call Caown. It is like to a Fritter made of Rice-flower, and Jaggory. They make them up in little lumps, and lay them upon a Leaf, and then press them with their thumbs, and put them into a Frying-Pan, and fry them in Coker-nut Oyl or Butter. When the Dutch came first to Columba, the King ordered these Caown to be made and sent to them as a royal Treat. And they say, the Dutch did so admire them, that they asked if they grew not upon Trees, supposing it past the Art of man to make such dainties.

Oggulas another sort of sweet-meats, made of parched Rice, Jaggory, Pepper, Cardamum, and a little Cinnamons. They rowl them up in Balls, which will grow hard. These

The Manner of
their Eating and Drinking

they tie up in bags and carry them with them when they travail to eat in afternoons when they are hungry.

Alloways, made much after the former manner, only they are flat in the fashion of a Lozenge; which are good for faintings and thirsty souls to relish their water, and to eat of in afternoons when they are at home. We carried some of these along with us in our travayl.

A kind of Puddings.

Yacpetties, made of Rice-flower, and the meat of the Coker-nut and Jaggory. They are made up into small lumps, and so put in a Leaf, and laid on a cloth over a Pot of boyling water. The steam of which heats that which is laid upon it: and so they are sodden like a Pudding. They tast like white bread, Almonds and Sugar.

Pitu. Which is made thus. They take flower of Coracan, and sprinkle a little water into it, being both put into a large Pot for the purpose. Then they stir and rowl it in the Pot with their hands: by which means it crumbles into corns like Gun-Powder. Then they have a Pot of boyling water with a cloth tyed over it; and upon this cloth they lay so much of this corn flower as they can conveniently cover with another Pot. And so the steam coming through the cloth boils it, that it will be much like unto a Pudding. And this they use to eat as they do Rice.

The Womens Housewifry.

The womens Housewifry is to beat the Rice out of the husk; which they do with an Ebeny Pestle before mentioned. They lay the Rice on the ground, and then beat it, one blow with one hand, and then tossing the Pestle into the other, to strike with that. And at the same time they keep stroke with their feet (as if they were dancing) to keep up the Corn together in one heap. This being done, they beat it again in a wooden Morter to whiten it, [p. 89.] as was said before. This work tho it be very hard, belongeth only to the women: as also to fetch both wood and water. The wood they bring upon their heads, the water in an earthen Pot, placing it upon their hip. To the women also belongs a small bill to cut Herbs, Pumkins, &c. Which she is to dress. Which bill she lays upon the ground, the edg upwards, and sets her self upon the Staff

or handle to hold it fast, and what she meaneth to cut, she lays it upon the edge, and shoveth it on it.

How they entertain strangers,

When one comes to anothers house, being set down the Entertainment is, green Leaves, they call Bullat, which they eat raw with Lime and Betel-nut, and Tobacco. And being set a while, the man of the house will ask the Stranger what he comes for, which if he does not suddenly, the Stranger will take exceptions at it, as thinking he is not welcom to him. Neither do they ever go one to visit the other, unless it be for their own ends, either to beg or borrow.

And Kinred.

And if Kindred, that are very nearly related come together, they have no loving or private conference one with the other, but sit like strangers very solid and grave. And if they stay above one night, which is the common custom, then they do help and assist the man of the house in any work or service he hath to do.

When they visit.

When any friends go to anothers house to visit, they never go empty handed, but carry provisions and sweet meats with them to their friend. And then he makes them a Feast according to his ability, but they never eat of those things, which themselves brought. But there is but little feasting among them unless at a Wedding.

We have been long enough in the house, let us walk abroad, and show you how the People demean themselves without doors.

Their manner of Salutations.

When they meet one another, their manner of Salutation or obeisance is, to hold forth their two hands, the Palms upwards, and bow their Bodies: but the superior to the inferior holds forth but one hand, and if the other be much beneath him, he only nods his head. The women salute by holding up both their hands edgways to their Foreheads. The general complement one to another at first meeting is to say Ay; it signifies how do you: and the other answers, Hundoi, that is, well.

The Nobles in their best Apparel.

The Habit of the men when they appear abroad is after this sort. The Nobles wear Doublets of white or blew Callico, and about their middle a cloth, a white one next

their skin, and a blew one or of some other colour or painted, over the white: a blew or red shash girt about their loyns, and a Knife with a carved handle wrought or inlaid with Silver sticking in their bosom; and a compleat short Hanger carved and inlaid with Brass and Silver by their sides, the Scabbard most part covered with Silver, bravely ingraven; a painted Cane and sometimes a Tuck in it in their hands, and a boy always bare-headed with long hair hanging down his back waiting upon him, ever holding a small bag in his hand, which is instead of a Pocket, wherein is Betel-leaves and nuts. Which they constantly keep chewing in their mouths, with Lime kept in a Silver Box rarely engraven, which commonly they hold in their hands, in shape like a Silver Watch.

The fashion of their hair.

The great ones also generally, and spruce young men, do wear their hair long hanging down behind: but when they do any work or travail hard, it annoying them, they tie it up behind. Heretofore generally they bored holes [p. 90.] in their ears, and hung weights in them to make them grow long, like the Malabars, but this King not boring his, that fashion is almost left off. The men for ornament do wear Brass, Copper, Silver Rings on their Fingers, and some of the greatest Gold. But none may wear any Silk.

But the women in their Apparel do far surpass the men, neither are they so curious in clothing themselves as in making their wives fine. The mens Pride consists in their Attendance, having men bearing Arms before and behind them.

The Women drest in their bravery.

In their houses the women regard not much what dress they go in, but so put on their cloths as is most convenient for them to do their work. But when they go abroad, and make themselves fine, They wear a short Frock with sleeves to cover their bodies of fine white Callico wrought with blew and red Thread in flowers and branches: on their Arms Silver Bracelets, and their fingers and toes full of Silver Rings, about their necks, Necklaces of Beads or Silver, curiously wrought and engraven, guilded with Gold, hanging down so low as their brests. In their ears hang

ornaments made of Silver set with Stones, neatly engraven and guilded. Their ears they bore when they are young, and rowl up Coker-nut leaves and put into the holes to stretch them out, by which means they grow so wide that they stand like round Circles on each side of their faces, which they account a great ornament, but in my Judgment a great deformity, they being well featured women.

How they dress their heads.

Their other ornaments and Apparel show very comely on them. Their Hair they oyl, with Coker-nut oyl to make it smooth, and comb it all behind. Their hair grows not longer than their wasts, but because it is a great ornament to have a great bunch of hair, they have a lock of other hair fastened in a Plate of engraved Silver and guilded, to tie up with their own, in a knot hanging down half their Backs. Their hands are bare, but they carry a scarf of striped or branched Silk or such as they can get, casting it carelesly on their head and shoulders. About their Wasts they have one or two Silver girdles made with Wire and Silver Plate handsomly engraven, hanging down on each side, one crossing the other behind. And as they walk they chew Betel. But notwithstanding all their bravery neither man nor woman wears shoos or stockings, that being a Royal dress, and only for the King himself.

They commonly borrow their fine cloths.

It is in general a common custom with all sorts of People, to borrow Apparel or Jewels to wear when they go abroad, which being so customary is no shame nor disgrace to them, neither do they go about to conceal it. For among their friends or strangers where they go, they will be talking saying, This I borrowed of such an one, and this of another body. Their Poverty is so great, that their ability will not reach to buy such Apparel as they do desire to wear ; which nevertheless is but very mean and ordinary at the best.

A Noble Man

Chap. VII.

[p. 91.]

Of their Lodging, Bedding, Whoredom, Marriages, and Children.

HAving been thus entertained with the fine Ladies abroad, it is time now to return home to our Lodging. And the night coming on, we will lead you to their Bed-Chambers, and shew you how they sleep. About which they are not very curious. If their house be but one room (as it often is) then the men sleep together at one end and the women at the other.

Their Bed, and how they sleep a nights.

They have Bedsteads laced with Canes or Rattans, but no Testars to them, nor Curtains; that the King allows not of; neither have they nor care they for more than one Bedstead, which is only for the Master of the house to sit or sleep on. To this Bedstead belongs two mats and a straw Pillow. The Woman with the Children always lyes on the ground on mats by the fire-side. For a Pillow she lays a block or such like thing under her mat, but the Children have no Pillows at all. And for covering and other bedding they use the cloth they wear by day. But always at their feet they will have a fire burning all night. Which makes more work for the Women; who must fetch it all upon her head. For it is accounted a disgrace for the man to meddle or make with those affairs, that properly do belong unto the Woman.

They rise in the night.

The younger sort of Children, such as go naked by day, creep in under a corner of their mothers cloths. And if they feel themselves cold in the night, they rise and blow the fire with their mouths, having no Bellows in that Countrey, and so sit and warm themselves thereby.

They are so little given to sleep, that they do rise many times in the night to eat Beatel and to take Tobacco. Which done they lay them down, and sing songs until they fall a sleep again.

Children taught to sing at going to Bed.

At their first going to bed, it is very seldom that they do pray to God, neither do they ever teach their Children so to do. But sometimes will say Auh Dio, which is God help or keep me. But they do instead of that, teach and bid their Children to sing songs when they go to bed.

Young People lie at one anotheir houses.

Where their houses consist but of one room, the Children that are of any years always go and sleep in other houses among their neighbours. Which please them better than their own. For so they come to meet with bedfellows, nor doth it displease the Parents, if young men of as good quality as themselves become acquainted with their daughters, but rather like well of it; knowing that their daughters by this means can command the young men to help and assist them in any work or business that they may have occasion to use them in. And they look upon it so far distant from a disgrace, that they will among their consorts brag of it, that they have the young men thus at their command.

Nothing so common as Whoredom.

So that youth are bred up to Whoredom. Indeed here are no Publick Whores allowed by Authority. In the City some that have followed that Trade, have oftentimes by the King's order been severely punished by Whipping, and having their Ears and Hair cut off. But in private few or none can exempt themselves. And for the matter of being with Child, which many of them do not desire, they very exquisitely can prevent the same.

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They are guilty of the thing, but love not the name.

Indeed the Publick Trade would be bad, and hardly maintain them that exercised it, the private one being so great. And tho I think they be all Whores, yet they abhor the Name of Uesou, which is Whore. Neither do they in their anger reproach one another with it, unless they should lay with a Man of an inferior quality to themselves. And the Woman reckons her self as much obliged to the Man for his Company, as he does to her for hers. In these affairs the Women are very expert (it being their continual practice) to keep their design from the Husbands knowledge: tho by his own Experience he cannot be ignorant of Womens devices. And unless he catch them

in the act he doth not much trouble himself to prove himself a Cuckold; Cuckolds being so common, that it is not here regarded.

The Man may kill whom he finds in Bed with his Wife.

It is a Law here, that if a Man catch another in Bed with his Wife, he may, be it whosoever, kill him and her, if he please. It hath so happened that the Man hath come to the Door, when another hath been within with his Wife, there being no way to escape, the Woman has took a pan of hot ashes, and as she opened the Door, her Husband being entring, cast them in his Eyes, and so she and her Bedfellow made an escape.

The Womens craft to compass and conceal their Debauchery.

To fetch wood out of the Woods to burn, and to fetch home the Cattle is the Woman's work. If they cannot have their opportunities at home, now they appoint their meetings, while the Husband stays at home holding the Child. In the Evenings it is common for them with whom the Women be acquainted, to come and wait behind the House when it is dark to attend their coming forth to them. To which end they give them notice either by breaking of a stick, or by putting some Betel over the Wall to fall in such places as they have appointed, where she will look to find it. And when she has such notice, she cannot want an excuse to go forth to meet him.

They bear such love to their Bedfellows, that I have known this done, The Husband hath beset the House, and the Womans Friend in it, when she hath holpen him to make a hole thro the Thatch to get out at, which he hath done and made his Escape, and she remain behind to suffer all the blame her self. When other opportunities are wanting to enjoy the Company of their Paramours whole Nights together, they usually take occasion to be discontented and fall out with their Husbands, and so go home to their Friends houses, to get longer enjoyments. Who to shew their Friendship will not hinder but further them in what they delight in.

They do treat their Friends with the use of their Wives or Daughters.

In some Cases the Men will permit their Wives and Daughters to lye with other Men. And that is, when intimate Friends or great Men chance to Lodge at their

houses, they commonly will send their Wives or Daughters to bear them company in their Chamber. Neither do they reckon their Wives to be Whores for lying with them that are as good or better than themselves.

The Mother for a small reward prostitutes her Daughter.

They do not matter or regard whether their Wives at the first Marriage be Maids or not. And for a small reward the Mother will bring her Daughter being a Maiden unto those that do desire her. But it is so much abhorred for Women of the high Cast or Descent to admit Men of the low Cast to have any thing to do with them, that I think they never do it.

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Marriages.

But enough of this Ribaldry, let us turn away to more honest Practices. To speak of their Marriages, which make the Bed lawful. There are not many Ceremonies used in or about the same. Here is no wooing for a Wife. The Parents commonly make the Match, and in their choice regard more the Quality and Descent than the Beauty. If they are agreed, all is done. The Match being thus made, the Man carrieth or sends to the Woman her Wedding Cloths; which is a Cloth containing six or seven yards in length, and a Linnen Wast-coat wrought with Blew and Red. If the Man be so poor that he cannot buy a Cloth, it is the Custom to borrow one. In case the Man with his Friends goes and carries it himself, that Night they both sleep together to beget acquaintance one with the other. And then they appoint a day when he is to come and fetch her home; which is the Marriage-Day.

No wooing.

The Bridegroom goes to the Brides House.

The day being come, he attended with his Friends goes to her house, which is always in the Evening, and brings Provisions and Sweet-meats with him according to his Ability, towards the Charges of the Wedding. Which is never more than two Meals. Whereof Supper is the first. Then the Bride and Bridegroom both eat together in one Dish, which is to intimate that they are both of one rank and quality, and sometimes they tye their Thumbs together, but not always: and that Night go to sleep together.

How the Bridegroom carrieth home his Bride.

The next day having dined he taketh his Bride, and departeth home with her, putting her before him, and he

following her, with some of her Friends to Conduct her. For it is the constant Custom and Fashion in this Land for the Husband to follow his Wife. The reason whereof is a Tradition among them, that a Man once going foremost, it happened that his Wife was stoln away, and he not aware of it. Being come home the Bridegroom makes a Feast as he is able.

A Ceremony of Marriage.

Some few days after, her Friends usually come to see her bringing a present of Provision with them. And sometimes they use this Ceremony, the Man is to stand with one end of the Woman's Cloth about his Loins, and she with the other, and then they pour water on both their Heads, wetting all their Bodies: which being done, they are firmly Married to live together, so long as they can agree.

The Elder sorts of People usually woe and conclude their Marriages as they are in Bed together. For when they have lost their Maidenheads, they fear not much what Man comes to sleep with them, provided he be of as good quality as they, having nothing more to lose. And at the day appointed the Man gives the Woman her Cloths, and so takes her home.

Man and Wife may part at pleasure.

But their Marriages are but of little force or validity. For if they disagree and mislike one the other; they part without disgrace. Yet it stands firmer for the Man than for the Woman; howbeit they do leave one the other at their pleasure. They do give according to their Ability a Portion of Cattle, Slaves and Money with their Daughters; but if they chance to mislike one another and part asunder, this Portion must be returned again, and then she is fit for another Man, being as they account never the worse for wearing.

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Men and Women change till they can please themselves.

Both Women and Men do commonly wed four or five times before they can settle themselves to their contentation. And if they have Children when they part, the Common Law is, the Males for the Man, and the Females for the Woman. But many of the Women are free from this controversie, being Childless.

Women have two Husbands.

In this Countrey each Man, even the greatest, hath but one Wife; but a Woman often has two Husbands. For it is lawful and common with them for two Brothers to keep house together with one Wife, and the Children do acknowledge and call both Fathers.

Women unclean.

So long as the Women have their Infirmities or Flowers upon them, they are accounted very unclean, insomuch that the very house is polluted in that degree that none will approach near it. And even she her self cares not to conceal it, but calls out to them that come near, that they may avoid her house. But after she hath washed her Head and Body all is purified again. It is lawful for no Woman, altho they be great Men's Wives, to sit on a Stool in the presence of a Man. It is customary for Men upon any frivolous account to charge one another in the King's Name to do or not to do, according as they would have it. This the Women upon Penalty of having their Tongues cut out, dare not presume to do.

Privileges of Men above Women.

As it is usual to punish Men for faults committed by Imprisonment and Chains, or by making them stand with a weight on their Backs, until they do pay such a Sum of Money as is demanded: which for ordinary faults may be five or ten Shillings. So the Punishment which is inflicted upon Women, is to make them stand with a Basket of Sand upon their Heads, so long as they shall think fitting, who appoint the Punishment. Punishment by stripes is never used either to Men or Women, but only to those on whom the King Commands them to be laid.

Privileges of Women.

Lands of Inheritance which belong to Women are exempted from paying Harriots to the King. Women pay no Custom for things they carry to the Sea-Ports. Neither is any Custom paid for what is carried upon any Female Cattel, Cow or Buffalo.

They often destroy new born Infants.

They have no Midwives, but the neighbouring good Women come in and do that Office. As soon as the Child is born, the Father or some Friend apply themselves to an Astrologer to enquire, whether the Child be born in a prosperous Planet, and a good hour or in an evil. If it

be found to be in an evil they presently destroy it, either by starving it, letting it lye and die, or by drowning it, putting its head into a Vessel of water, or by burying it alive, or else by giving it to some body of the same degree with themselves; who often will take such Children, and bring them up by hand with Rice and Milk; for they say, the Child will be unhappy to the Parents, but to none else. We have asked them why they will deal so with their poor Infants, that come out of their Bowels. They will indeed have a kind of regret and trouble at it. But they will say withal, Why should I bring up a Devil in my House? For they believe, a Child born in an ill hour, will prove a plague and vexation to his Parents by his disobedience and untowardliness.

But seldom a First-born.

But it is very rare that a First-born is served so. Him they love and make much of. But when they come to have many, then usual it is, by the pretence of the Childs being born under an unlucky Planet, to kill him. And this is reputed no fault, and no Law of the Land takes cognizance of it.

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Their Names.

In their Infancy they have Names, whereby one may be called and distinguished from the other. But when they come to years it is an affront and shame to them either Men or Women, to be called by those Names. Which they say is to be like unto Dogs. Then they change their Names into Titles according to the Town wherein they were born or do dwell. Also they have other Names, which may be compared to Coats of Arms, properly and only belonging to that Family: by which likewise they are called.

They are ambitious of high Titles.

This People are very Ambitious of their Titles, having but little else that they can boast in: and of Names and Titles of respect they have great plenty in their Language; instances whereof shall be given afterwards.

Chap. VIII.

Of their Employments and Recreations.

IT is full time now, that we relate what course of life the People take, and what means they use for a livelihood. This has been in part already related.

Their Trade. As for Commerce and Merchandize with Foreign Nations, there is little or nothing of that now exercised. Indeed in the times when the Portugueze were on this Island, and Peace between them and the King, he permitted his People to go and Trade with them. The which he would never permit them to do with the Hollander, tho they have much sought for it. They have a small Traffic among themselves, occasioned from the Nature of the Island. For that which one part of the Countrey affords, will not grow in the other. But in one part or other of this Land they have enough to sustain themselves, I think, without the help of Commodities brought from any other Countrey: exchanging one Commodity for another; and carrying what they have to other parts to supply themselves with what they want.

Work not discreditable to the best Gentleman. But Husbandry is the great Employment of the Countrey, which is spoken of at large before. In this the best men labour. Nor is it held any disgrace for Men of the greatest Quality to do any work either at home or in the Field, if it be for themselves; but to work for hire with them is reckoned for a great shame: and very few are here to be found that will work so: But he that goes under the Notion of a Gentleman may dispence with all works, except carrying; that he must get a man to do when there is occasion. For carrying is accounted the most Slave-like work of all.

How they geld their Cattel. Under their Husbandry, it may not be amiss to relate how they geld their Cattel. They let them be two or three years old before they go about this work; then casting

A Gentlewoman

them and tying their Legs together ; they bruise their Cods with two sticks tied together at one end, nipping them with the other, and beating them with Mallets all to pieces. Then they rub over their Cods with fresh Butter and Soot, and so turn them loose, but not suffer them to lye down all that day. By this way they are secured from breeding Maggots. And I never knew any die upon this. [p. 96.]

How they make Glew.

Whensoever they have occasion to use Glew, they make it after this fashion. They take the Curd of milk, and strain the water from it through a cloth. Then tying it up in a cloth like a Pudding, they put it into boyling water, and let it boyl a good while. Which done it will be hard like Cheese-curd, then mixing it with Lime, use it. If it be not for present use, they will roul up these Curds into a Ball ; which becomes hard, and as they have occasion will scrape some of it off with a Knife, and so temper it with Lime. This Lime with them is as soft as Butter.

Their Manufactures.

Their Manufactures are few : some Callicoes, not so fine as good strong Cloth for their own use : all manner of Iron Tools for Smiths, and Carpenters, and Husbandmen : all sorts of earthen ware to boil, stew, fry and fetch water in, Goldsmith's work, Painter's work, carved work, making Steel, and good Guns, and the like.

But their Art in ordering the Iron-Stone and making Iron, may deserve to be a little insisted on. For the Countrey affords plenty of Iron, which they make of Stones, that are in several places of the Land ; they lay not very deep in the ground, it may be, about four or five or six foot deep.

How they make Iron.

First, They take these Stones, and lay them in an heap, and burn them with wood, which makes them more soft and fitter for the Furnace. When they have so done they have a kind of Furnace, made with a white sort of Clay, wherein they put a quantity of Charcoal, and then these Stones on them, and on the top more Charcoal. There is a back to the Furnace, like as there is to a Smith's Forge, behind which the man stands that blows, the use of which back is to keep the heat of the fire from him. Behind

the Furnace they have two logs of Wood placed fast in the ground, hollow at the top, like two pots. Upon the mouths of these two pieces of hollow wood they tie a piece of a Deers Skin, on each pot a piece, with a small hole as big as a man's finger in each skin. In the middle of each skin a little beside the holes are two strings tied fast to as many sticks stuck in the ground, like a Spring, bending like a bow. This pulls the skin upwards. The man that blows stand with his feet, one on each pot, covering each hole with the soles of his feet. And as he treads on one pot, and presseth the skin down, he takes his foot off the other, which presently by the help of the Spring riseth; and the doing so alternately conveys a great quantity of wind thro the Pipes into the Furnace. For there are also two Pipes made of hollow reed let in to the sides of the Pots, that are to conduct the wind, like the nose of a Bellows, into the Furnace.

For the ease of the Blower, there is a strap, that is fastned to two posts, and comes round behind him, on which he leans his back: and he has a stick laid cross-ways before him, on which he lays both his hands, and so he blows with greater ease. As the Stones are thus burning, the dross that is in them melts and runs out at the bottom, where there is a slanting hole made for the purpose so big as the lump of Iron may pass thro: out of this hole, I say, runs out the dross like streams of fire, and the Iron remains behind. Which when it is purified, as they think, enough, so that there comes no more dross away, they drive this lump of Iron thro the same sloping hole. Then they give it a chop with an Ax half thro, and so sling it into the water. They so chop it, that it may be seen that it is good Iron, for the Satisfaction of those that are minded to buy.

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How they make Butter.

For a farewel of their labours, let it not be unacceptable to relate here a piece of their Housewifry; and tell you how they make Butter. First, They boil the Milk, then they turn it into a Curd; the next morning they skim off the Cream, and drill it in an earthen Vessel with a stick

having a cross at the bottom of it, somewhat like a Chocolate stick. When the Butter is come, they put it in a pan, and fry it, to get all the water dry out of it, and so put it into an earthen pot for use.

Shops in the City.

There are no Markets on the Island. Some few Shops they have in the Cities, which sell Cloth, Rice, Salt, Tobacco, Limes, Druggs, Fruits, Swords, Steel, Brass, Copper, &c.

Prices of Commodities.

As to the Prices of Commodities, they are sold after this rate. Rice in the City, where it is dearest, is after six quarts for fourpence halfpeny English, or a small Tango, or half a Tango; six Hens as much; a fat Pig the same: a fat Hog, three shillings and six pence or four shillings: but there are none so big as ours. A fat Goat, two and six pence. Betle-nuts 4000 nine pence Currant price, when a Trad.

And now we are discoursing of their Traffick, we will speak a little of their Measures, Weights, and Coin.

Of their Measures.

First for Measures. A Rian is a Cubit, which is with them from the bone on the inside of the Elbow to the tip of the fourth Finger. A Waddo rian is the Carpenters Rule. It is as much as will reach from one Elbow to the other, the Thumbs touching one the other at the tops, and so stretching out both Elbows.

For their Corn-measures, the least is a Potta, which is to contain as much Grain as a man can hold heaped up in his whole hand palm and fingers and all. Four Pottas make a lawful or Statute-measure, called Bonder Nellia, signifying the King's measure. Which is the King's ordinary allowance to a man, that is as much as he can eat in a day. But we Englishmen were allowed two. Four of these Bonder Nellias make a Courney. In fashion it is an handsom turned measure, some of them are made with Canes like a Basket. Ten of these Courneys make a Pale, that is forty measures, which is the usual quantity that they sell for a Laree, or fifth part of a Piece of eight, the usual price in Conde Uda. But in time of Harvest two Pales for a Laree. Four of these Pales make an

Ommouna. In which they keep the account of their Corn, reckoning by Ommounas.

Their Weights.

For their Weights, their smallest is a Collonda, six make just a Piece of eight. They have half Collondas, and quarter Collondas. When they are to weigh things smaller than a Collonda, they weigh them with a kind of red Berries, which grow in the Woods, and are just like Beads. The Goldsmiths use them, Twenty of these Beads make a Collonda, and Twenty Collondas make a Pallum.

Measures bigger than the Statute punishable, but less not; and why?

Here is no Punishment for those that make less weights and measures. They are more circumspect that their measures be not too big than too little. For Money being scarce, Corn passeth instead of Money, and every man mets by his own measure. Which therefore he makes as large as he can or dares, that so when he receives his Debt of Corn, he may get as much as he can. Which upon this [p. 98.] account would be a great injury to the poorer sort of People, who commonly are the Debtors. Therefore the Adigars Officers will go about the Towns to examine the measures by a Statute-Measure; and where they find great ones they cut them in pieces, and hang them up in the Streets to terrifie others, and sometimes will amerce a Fine upon them that have them.

Of their Coin.

Of Money they have but three sorts that passeth for Coin in the King's Dominions. The one was Coined by the Portugals, the King's Arms on one side, and the Image of a Frier on the other, and by the Chingulayes called Tangom massa. The value of one is nine pence English, Poddi Tangom, or the small Tangom is half as much. There is another sort, which all People by the King's Permission may and do make. The shape is like a fish-hook, they stamp what mark or impression on it they please. The Silver is purely fine beyond pieces of Eight. For if any suspect the goodness of the Plate, it is the Custom to burn the Money in the fire red hot, and so put it in water: and if it be not then purely white, it is not Currant Money.

The third sort of Money is the King's proper Coin.

For none upon pain of Death may Coin it. It is called a Ponnam. It is as small as a Spangle: Seventy five make a piece of Eight, or a Spanish Dollar. But all sorts of Money is here very scarce: And they frequently buy and sell by exchanging Commodities.

Of their Play.

Pass we now from their Business to their Pastimes and Diversions. They have but few Sports, neither do they delight in Play. Only at their New year, they will sport and be merry one with another. Their chief Play is to bowl Coker-nuts one against the other, to try which is the hardest. At this time none will work, until their Astrologers tell them, it is a good hour to handle their Tools. And then both Men and Women do begin their proper works; the Man with his Ax, Bill, and Hough, and the Woman with her Broom, Pestle, and Fan to clean her Corn.

A Play or a Sacrifice.

There is another Sport, which generally all People used with much delight, being, as they called it, a Sacrifice to one of their Gods; to wit, Potting Dio. And the benefit of it is, that it frees the Countrey from grief and Diseases. For the beastliness of the Exercise they never celebrated it near any Town, nor in sight of Women, but in a remote place. The manner of the Game is thus. They have two crooked sticks like Elbows, one hooked into the other, and so with contrivances they pull with Ropes, until the one break the other; some siding with one stick, and some with the other; but never is Money laid on either side. Upon the breaking of the stick, that Party that hath won doth not a little rejoyce. Which rejoycing is exprest by Dancing and Singing, and uttering such sordid beastly Expressions, together with Postures of their Bodies, as I omit to write them, as being their shame in acting, and would be mine in rehearsing. For he is at that time most renowned that behaves himself most shamelesly and beast-like.

For the filthiness of it forbid by the King.

This filthy Solemnity was formerly much in use among them; and even the King himself hath spent time in it, but now lately he hath absolutely forbidden it under penalty

of a forfeiture of Money. So that now the practice hereof is quite left off.

A cunning stratagem of an Officer. [p. 99.]

But tho it is thus gone into dis-use, yet out of the great delight the People had in it, they of Gompala would revive it again; and did. Which coming to the King's ear, he sent one of his Noblemen to take a Fine from them for it. The Nobleman knew the People would not come to pay a Fine, and therefore was fain to go to work by a Stratagem. Pitching therefore his Tents by a Pond, he gave order to call all the People to his assistance to catch Fish for the King's use. Which they were very ready to do, hoping to have the refuse Fish for themselves. And when they were all thus assembled together with their Tools, and necessary Instruments for that purpose, the Nobleman charged them all in the King's Name according to the Countries fashion, which was by pulling off his Cap, and falling down upon the ground three times, that not a man of them should budge till they had paid such a Sum of Money, which was so much a piece, for reviving that Play that the King had forbid. Which they were forced to do before they departed from the Pond side. And the Money was carried into the King's Exchequer.

Tricks and feats of Activity.

When they would be merry, and particularly at their great Festival in the New Moon of June or July (before mentioned;) they have People that shew pretty tricks and feats of Activity before them. A man sets a Pole of seven or eight foot long upon his Breast; a Boy gets to the top of this Pole, and leans with his Belly upon the end of it; and thus the man danceth with the Pole on his Breast, and the Boy on it, and but little holding the Pole. A man takes four Arrows with blades about a foot long, they are tied one cross another, and so laid upon the end of a Pole, which rests upon the man's Breast. On a sudden he squatts down upon the ground, and the four Arrows all fall on the four sides of him, sticking in the ground. Two Cross-bows stand bent one opposite to the other, charged with Arrows drawn up to the heads: they are placed just so high, as they may fly over a man's back when he lyes flat

upon the ground. A man danceth between them and shows Tricks, and when he is pleased, he touches a string made fast to both their trickers, at which they both instantly Discharge, and he falls flat down between them, and the Arrows fly over his back, which if they hit him, undoubtedly fly thro his Body. A Woman takes two naked Swords under each Arm one, and another she holds in her mouth, then fetcheth a run and turns clear over, and never touches the ground till she lights on her feet again, holding all her Swords fast. There are divers other Diversions of this nature too large to mention.

At leisure times they meet, and discourse of News.

At their leisure when their affairs will permit, they commonly meet at places built for strangers and way-faring men to lodge in, in their Language called Amblomb, where they sit chewing Betel, and looking one upon the other very gravely and solidly, discoursing concerning the Affairs at Court, between the King and the great Men; and what Employment the People of the City are busied about. For as it is the chief of their business to serve the King, so the chief of their discourse is concerning such matters. Also they talk of their own affairs, about Cattel and Husbandry. And when they meet with Outlandish-men they enquire about the Laws and Government of their Countrey, and if it be like theirs; and what Taxes and Duties we are bound to pay, and perform to our King, &c.

Drunkenness abhorred.

And this manner of passing their leisure time they account the greatest Recreation. Drunkenness they do greatly abhor, neither are there many that do give themselves to it. Tobacco likewise they account a Vice, but yet is used both by Men and Women; but more eaten than drunk in Pipes.

[p. 100.]

Their great delight in Betel.

But above all things Betel leaves they are most fond of, and greatly delighted in: when they are going to Bed, they first fill their mouths with it, and keep it there until they wake, and then rise and spit it out, and take in more. So that their mouths are no longer clear of it, than they are eating their Victuals. This is the general practice both of Men and Women, insomuch that they had rather want

Victuals or Cloths than be without it; and my long practice in eating it brought me to the same condition. And the Reasons why they thus eat it are, First, Because it is wholsom. Secondly, To keep their mouths perfumed: for being chewed it casts a brave scent. And Thirdly, To make their Teeth black. For they abhor white Teeth, saying, That is like a Dog.

The better sort of Women, as Gentlewomen or Ladies, have no other Pastime but to sit and chew Betel, swallowing the spittle, and spitting out the rest. And when Friends come to see and visit one the other, they have as good Society thus to sit and chew Betel, as we have to drink Wine together.

The Manner of their eating Betel leaves.

But to describe the particular manner of their eating these Leaves. They carry about with them a small Box filled with wet Lime: and as often as they are minded to eat Betel, they take some of this Lime, as much as they judge convenient, and spread it thin upon their leaf; then they take some slices of the Betel-nut, and wrap them up in the leaf, and so eat it, rubbing their Teeth therewith ever and anon to make them black. Thus they eat it generally: but sometimes they eat it otherwise, according as they please; neither spreading the Lime on the leaf, nor rolling up slices of the Nut into it: But they will take a little of the Lime out of their Box between their Fingers, and put it in their mouths, and eat of the Nut and the Leaf by themselves.

But whensoever they eat of the Betel-leaf, the Lime and the Nut always accompany it.

How they make Lime.

They have a pretty shift of making their Lime, when they chance to need it as they are travailing. They take certain Shells, almost resembling Snails Shells, which they pick up in fresh water Rivers, washed a shore with the water beating upon the Rocks. These Shells, mixed with Charcoal and fire, they wrap up in a wisp of Rice-straw, and bind them together in a round bundle of a convenient bigness, tying all up with green Withs, that they may not fall in pieces. By a With some four foot long they hold

it in their hands, swinging it round over their heads. Which motion blows the Coals and makes them burn. And as they are weary with swinging it in one hand, they shift and take it in the other: and so keep swinging it for half an hour or thereabouts. By which time it will be burnt to very good Lime, and most part of the straw consumed: but it is still kept together by the green Withs. Then they take it and wet it in water, and put it into their Pots or Boxes for their use. The Lime made of white stone burnt in a Kiln they do indifferently use to eat with their Leaves, as well as this made of Shells now described.

Chap. IX. [p. 101.]

Of their Laws and Language.

THere are three things, that ingenious men may possibly be inquisitive after, which have not yet been professedly handled, their Laws, their Language, and their Learning.

Their Laws. Concerning the first, here are no Laws, but the Will of the King, and whatsoever proceeds out of his mouth is an immutable Law. Nevertheless they have certain antient usages and Customes that do prevail and are observed as Laws; and Pleading them in their Courts and before their Governors will go a great way.

Lands descend. To hint some of them, their Lands are hereditary, and do descend from Parents to their Children. But the eldest son by Priviledg of Birth-right does not possess and enjoy all the Land, but if the Father please he can divide it among his Children. Yet in case the eldest son does enjoy the Land, then without dispute he is to maintain his Mother and her Children until they come to years of ability to provide for themselves.

In case Corn receives dammage by a Neighbours Cattle. They have a custom in the Land of Ouvah, which is a great breeder of Cattle, and hath but very little Wood, so that they have not wherewith to make hedges; It is

that when they sow their Lands, they drive their Cattle thence, and watch them all day that they break not into the Corn; and at night they tie their Cattle to secure them from straying into the Corn-Lands: otherwise if one Neighbours Cattle eats another neighbours Corn, he must pay the dammage.

Those that are lazy and loath to Plow, or that are Poor and want Corn to sow, the Custom is, to let out their ground to others to Till at Ande, that is at halves; but fees and accustomable dues taken out by the Husbandman that tills it, the Owner of the Land receives not much above a third part.

The loss of leting out land to Till.

For the Husbandman hath divers considerable payments besides his half share of the Corn. As namely, first he hath Cotoumaun, that is, so much Corn as they scratch off from the whole heap of trodden Corn by drawing a bundle of Thorns over it. Secondly, Waracool, that is a consideration for the expences they are at in Tilling and Sowing: for which there is a Rate according to the bigness of the field. Thirdly, Warrapoll, that is the Corn they leave at the bottom of the heap after they have done fanning. Which is the Womans fee for their pains in weeding the Corn, and in pulling it up where it is too thick, and planting it where it is thin, &c. Fourthly, Bolerud which is the Chaff and sweepings of the Pit. This sometimes comes to a considerable value according to the quantity of Corn that is trodden. Fiftly, Peldorah, which is a piece of Corn they leave standing before the watch house, which is set up in their Corn grounds to watch their Corn from the wild beasts. And this left standing is the fee for watching. There is yet another due Ockyaul which belongs to their Gods, and is an offering sometimes carried away by the Priest; and sometimes they bestow it upon the beggars, and sometimes they will take it and hang it up in their houses, and at convenient time sacrifice it themselves. It is one of their measures, which is about half a Peck.

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The great consideration for Corn borrowed.

And in the mean time until this Corn is ripe, the Owner is fain to go a borrowing Corn to sustain himself and

Family. Which he pays consideration for: which is, when his own Corn is ripe, a bushel and an half for a bushel that is, at the rate of Fifty per Cent. Which manner of lending Corn is a means that doth maintain many strangers and others. For they who have got a small stock of Corn by that Profit may competently live upon it. Which was the means that Almighty God prepared for my relief and maintenance.

Corn thus lent is somewhat difficult to receive again. For the Debtor being Poor, all the Creditors will come into the field, when the Corn is a shareing, that being the place of payment: and as soon as it is divided each one will scramble to get what he can. And having taken possession of it, from thence the Creditor must carry it home himself, be it far or near.

The debt becomes double in two years.

If the Debt remains in the Debtors hands two years, it becomes doubled: and from thence forward be it never so long, no more use is to be paid by the Law of the Land, which Act was established by the King in favour of the Poor, there having been some whole Families made Slaves for a bushel of Corn.

If the debtor pay not his debt he is lyaable to be a Slave for it.

But yet it is lawful for the Creditor, missing Corn, to lay hands on any of his goods: or if the sum be somewhat considerable, on his Cattle or Children, first taking out a License from the Magistrate so to do, or if he have none, on himself or his wife, if she came with him to fetch the debt, if not, she is clear from this violence; but his Children are not.

Divers other Laws and Customes.

If a woman goes away from her Husband without his consent, no Man may marry her, until he first be married. In lending of mony by the use of it in one years time, it becomes double. And if the Creditor receive not his mony at the expiration of the year, but lets it lie in the Debtors hands never so long after, no more than double is to be paid, the encrease never runs up higher as it is in lending Corn. If a Bond-woman has Children by a Free-man, the Children all are Slaves to her Master: but if a Bond-man has Children by a Free-woman, the Children

are free: For the Children are always as the Mother, whether Bond or Free. No man may cut down a Coker-nut-Tree. If any man to a bargain or promise gives a stone in the Kings name, it is as firm as hand and seal. And if any after this go back of his word, it will bear an Action. If any man be taken stealing, he must restore seven for one, or else be made a Slave, if he be not able to pay it.

It is lawful and customary for a man in necessity to sell or pawn his Children, or himself. No man building an house either in his own or another mans ground, if he be afterwards minded to leave his Land, where his house stood, may pull it down again: But must let it stand for the benefit of whosoever comes after him.

For deciding controversies.

For the deciding of matters in controversie especially of more abstruse cognizance, the parties do both swear before their Gods, sometimes in their Temples, and sometimes upon more extraordinary occasions in hot Oyl.

[p. 103.] *Swearing in the Temples.*

Sometimes in their Temples. To explain which, take this following relation. A Slave was accused by a Merchant to have robbed his house. Whereupon to clear himself, the Slave desired he might swear. So the Merchant and Slave went both to the Temple to swear. The Merchant swore positively that the Slave had robbed his house; and the Slave swore as poynt blank that he had not robbed his house: and neither of them having any witnesses, God who knew all things was desired to shew a Judgment upon him that was forsworn. They both departed to their houses, waiting to see upon whom the Judgment would fall. In the mean time the Slave privatly sets the Merchants house on fire, and his house was burnt down to the ground. Then it was clear by this supposed divine Judgment, the Merchant was forsworn. The Slave presently demands satisfaction for laying Theft fasly to his charge. The Merchant could not tell what to say to it, but would give him none. The Slave was now to take his own satisfaction, as he had opportunity. And his Master bids him seize upon the Merchants Person or any other relating to him,

and bring them to his house, and there detain them. Within a short time after, the Slave seeing a Kinsman of the Merchants passing by, offers to seize him. But he, rather than be taken, draws his Knife and Stabs the Slave on the shoulder, and so escapes. In Fine, the Merchant was fain to bribe the Great Men to save himself from further dammage, and sit down contented with the loss of his goods and house. Though the Slave was a person of a very bad reputation, and had done divers Thefts; and some of his stolen goods he hath brought to me to sell.

The manner of swearing in hot Oyl.

Sometimes they do decide their debates by swearing in hot Oyl. Which because it is remarkable, I will relate at large. They are permitted thus to swear in matters of great importance only, as when Law Suits happen about their Lands, or when their is no witness. When they are to swear, each party hath a Licence from the Governor for it, written with his hand to it. Then they go and wash their heads and bodies, which is a religious ceremony. And that night they are both confined Prisoners in an house with a guard upon them, and a cloth tyed over each of their right hands and sealed, least they might use any charm to harden their fingers.

The next morning they are brought out; they then put on clean cloths, and purifie themselves, reckoning they come into the presence of God. Then they tie to their wrists the Leaf wherein the Governors Licence is, and repair under some Bogahah, God-Tree, and all the Officers of the County assemble with a vast number of people besides. Coker-nuts are brought, and Oyl is there extracted from them in the sight of the people, that all may see their is no deceit. Also they have a Pan of Cow-dung and water boyling close by: The Oyl and Cow-dung being both boyling and throughly hot, they take a young leaf of a Coker-nut Tree and dip that into the Oyl, that all may see it is hot. For it singes, and frizzels up, and roars as if you poured water into hot boyling Oyl. And so they do likewise to the Cow-dung. When all are satisfied the

Oyl is hot, the two men come and stand on each side of this boyling Oyl; and say, The God of Heaven and Earth is witness, that I did not do this that I am accused of; Or, The four sorts of Gods be witness, That this Land in [p. 104.] controversie is mine. And then the other swears quite contrary. But first the Accuser alwayes swears. The Accused also relates his own innocence, or his own Right and Title. The cloths that their hands were bound up in are taken off. And immediatly upon using the former words, he dips his two fingers into the hot Oyl, flinging it out three times. And then goes to the boyling Cow-dung, and does the same. And so does the other. Then they tie up their hands again with the cloth, and keep both of them Prisoners till the next day. When their hands are looked upon, and their fingers-ends rubbed with a cloth, to see if the skin comes off. And from whose fingers the skin comes, he is forsworn. The Penalty of which is a great forfeiture to the King and great satisfaction to the Adversary.

I am able to testifie, that the fingers of some of these that have thus sworn have been whole from any scald after this use of hot Oyl: but whether it be their innocence or their Art, that it thus comes to pass, I know not. The penalty of the breach of the Laws or Customes of this Land is at the pleasure of the Judg, either amercement, or imprisonment, or both.

How they exact Fines. For the taking of Fines from men, on whom they are laid, this is their Custom. The Officers, wheresoever they meet the man, stop him in the place. Where they take away his Sword and Knife; and make him pull off his Cap and Doublet; and there he sits with his Keepers by him, till he pays the Fine. And if he delays paying it, they clap a great Stone upon his back; in which condition he must remain till he pays it. And if he doth not pay, they load him with more Stones, until his compliance prevent further pains. Another way they have to exact the payment of the Fines laid upon them. They take some sprigs of Thorns, and draw them between the mans naked Legs

till he pays. But if he remain obstinate they clap him up in chains.

They have an odd usage among them to recover their debts. Which is this. They will sometimes go to the house of their debtor with the leaves of Neiingala a certain Plant, which is rank Poyson, and threaten him, that they will eat that Poyson and destroy themselves, unless he will pay him what he ows. The debtor is much afraid of this, and rather than the other should Poyson himself, will sometimes sell a Child to pay the debt: Not that the one is tender of the life of the other, but out of care of himself. For if the party dyes of the Poyson, the other for whose sake the man Poysoned himself must pay a ransome for his life. By this means also they will sometimes threaten to revenge themselves of those with whom they have any contest, and do it too. And upon the same intent they will also jump down some steep place or hang or make away with themselves; that so they might bring their Adversary to great dammage.

Of their Language.

To speak now a little of their Language. It is a language peculiar to that Island: and I know not any Indian Nations that speak it but themselves. There are a few words that are common to the Chingulays and the Malabars, which they might borrow of one another, by Intercourse and Commerce, but the words are so few, that a Malabar cannot understand a Chingulay, nor on the contrary.

Their language is Copious, Smooth, Elegant, Courtly; according as the People that speak it are. Who are full of words, Titles and Complements. They have no less than twelve or more Titles that they use when they speak to Women according to their ranks and qualities. [p. 105.]

Titles to women according to their qualities.

Puddeci.	A word for a woman of the lowest condition.
Kiddekel.	A term of more respect, given to a young wench.
Nanda.	A term for an inferior woman something in years, signifies also Ant.

Nandadga.	A little higher yet, of the like years.
Nauchere.	A Title may be given to an ordinary woman, still, but yet higher.
Lamhaumi.	A Title higher than any yet.
Ettani.	Higher still.
Lam-Ettani.	Of more respect.
Ettanihaumi.	Higher than that.
Maugi.	Proper only to an old woman, but of good quality.
Maugiwanxi.	Better then the Maugi.
Comaurehaumi.	A Title due to the greatest Ladies.
Hondreunié.	Given to the Queen or the King.

So that it is hard to speak to a woman without they know what she is before, least they might mistake her Title. And the women are much pleased with some of the better Titles.

Titles given to men.

The men also have various Titles, tho not so many as the women. People give to them these Titles according to the business they have with them. If they come for some favour or kindness to be done them, they bestow the better sort of Titles upon them.

They have seven or eight words for Thou, or You, which they apply to persons according to their quality, or according as they would honour them. And they are To, Topi, Umba, Umbela, Tomnai, Tomsi, Tomsela, Tomanxi. All these words are gradually one higher than the other.

No difference between a Country man and a Courtier for Language.

Their speech and manner of Address is Courtly and becoming.

Their ordinary Plow-men and Husbandmen do speak elegantly, and are full of complement. And there is no difference between the ability and speech of a Country-man and a Courtier. When any hath a favour to beg of a Nobleman, or any business with him, they do not abruptly speak their desires or errand at first, but bring it in with a long harangue of his worth or good disposition or abilities; and this in very handsom and taking stile. They bring up their Children to speak after this manner, and use them to go with errands to great men; and they are able to tell their tale very well also.

In their speech the people are bold without sheepish

The manner of Extorting their Fine.

shame facedness, and yet no more confidence than is becoming.

Their Language in their address to the King.

The King they call by a name, that signifies somewhat higher than a man, and next to God. But before the Wars they stiled him Dionanxi, which is a Title higher than God by the addition of Nanxi. This Title the King took before the Rebellion, but since he forbad it. When they speak to the King concerning themselves, they do not speak in the first person, and say I did so or so, but Baulagot the limb of a Dog did it or will do it. And when they speak of their Children unto the King, they call them Puppies. As if he ask them how many Children they have, they say so many Puppy-dogs, and so many Puppy-bitches. [p. 106.] By which by the way, we may conjecture at the height of the King and the slavery of the People under him.

Words of Form and Civility.

They have certain words of Form and Civility, that they use upon occasion. When they come to another mans house, he asks them what they come for, which is his civility, and they answer Nicamava, I come for nothing, which is their ordinary reply, tho they do come for something. And upon this they have a Fable.

A God came down upon earth one day, and bad all his Creatures come before him and demand what they would have and it should be granted them. So all the beasts and other Creatures came, and one desired Strength, and another Legs, and another Wings, &c. And it was bestowed on them. Then came the White men, the God asked them, what they came for? And they said, they desired Beauty and Valour and Riches. It was granted them. At last came the Chingulays, the God required of them, what they came for. They answered, Nicamava, I come for nothing. Then replyed he again, do you come for nothing, then go away with nothing. And so they for their complement fared worse than all the rest.

When one proffers something as a gift to another, altho it be a thing that he is willing to have, and would be glad to receive, yet he will say, Eeppa queinda, No, I thank you; how can I be so chargeable to you? And in the

same time while the words are in his mouth, he reacheth forth his hand to receive it.

Full of words and complement. Neither are they free or forward to requite them, from whom they have received a gift or good turn, otherwise than with words and windy protestations; the which shall not be wanting. But forwards they are to receive, yet very backward to part with anything. And if one neighbour asketh ought of another, or to borrow any thing, which the other is unwilling either to give or lend, they never will plainly deny by saying, I cannot or will not; but with dissembling they will excuse themselves, saying, They have it not, or is it lent abroad already, altho it be with them in the house at the same time.

By whom they swear. Their usual manner of swearing in protestations, is by their Mother, or by their Children, or by their two Eyes, oftner than by their Gods. But their protestations be they never so deep, and seem they never so serious, they are not to be regarded, as proceeding more from custom than truth.

Their Railery. Some of their words of Reproach, or Railery are such as these. One brother will say to another, and that in presence of their Mother, Tomotowoy, go lye with your Mother, the other replyes go you and lye with your Mother. And the Mother will say to the Daughter, Jopi oppota audewind, go lye with your Father; intimating she is good for nothing. They will commend their Children, when they can use their tongues in their own defence by scolding and say, Hæri, opanna, Well said, valiantly spoken. They will say also in reproach, Creep between my legs, cut your Nose off. If you have five hundred lives, you shall be damned. The worst railery they can give a woman is to tell her, she has laid with ten sorts of inferior ranks of People, which they will rather dye than do. If any thing be stole out of their grounds or Plantations fruit or the like, they will cry out a loud, This was done by some low-cast begotten Rogue, or She was a whore to some inferior rank who dressed it; and this Language [p. 107.] they will continue for half an hour together, tho they know

not who hath done it. The worst word they use to Whites and Christians, is to call them Beaf-eating Slaves.

I shall conclude this Discourse of their Language, by giving you a tast of their Proverbs, some hints of the strain of their Speech.

Miris dílah, ingurah gotta. I have given Pepper, and got Ginger. Spoken when a man makes a bad exchange. And they use it in reference to the Dutch succeeding the Portugueze in their Island. *Proverbs.*

Datta horrala Badda perind. Pick your Teeth to fill your Belly. Spoken of stingy niggardly People.

Caula yonawa ruah atti. To eat before you go forth is handsom and convenient. Which they therefore ever do.

Kiallah tiannah, Degery illand avah oppala hanguand mordy, As the saying is, if I come to beg Butter-milk, why should I hide my Pan. Which is ordinarily spoken to introduce the business that one man comes to speak to the other about.

Hingonna wellendam cor cottonwat geah par wardenda netta. A Beggar and a Trader cannot be lost. Because they are never out of their way.

Atting mitting delah hottarah harracurnowah. To lend to another makes him become an Enemy. For he will hate you if you ask him for it again.

Annuna min yain ecka ourowaying younda eppa. Go not with a Slave in one Boat. It signifies, to have no dealing or correspondence with any ones Slave. For if any dammage should happen, it would fall upon your head, and by their Law you must make it good.

Issara otting bollanowa pos cotting. First look in the hand, afterwards open the mouth. Spoken of a Judge, who first must have a Bribe before he will pronounce on their side.

Take a Ploughman from the Plough, and wash off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a Kingdom. Spoken of the People of Conde Uda, where there are such eminent Persons of the Hondrewrank; and because of the Civility, Understanding, and Gravity of the poorest Men among them.

No body can reproach the King and the Beggar. Because the former is above the slander of the People, and nothing can be said bad enough of the latter:

Like Noia and Polonga. Denoting Irreconcileable Enemies. The story of which two Serpents hath been related before.

He that hath Money to give to his Judge, needs not fear, be his Cause right or wrong. Because of the corruption of the great Men, and their greediness of Bribes.

If our Gerehah, fortune be bad, what can God do against it? Reckoning that none of their Gods have Power to reverse the fate of an ill Planet.

The Ague is nothing, but the Head-ach is all. That Countrey is very subject to Agues, which do especially afflict their heads who have them. I might multiply many more of their Proverbial sayings, but let these suffice.

I cannot pretend to give an account of the Grammar of this Tongue. I shall only give a few instances of their [p. 108.] words, and leave it to the Learned to make their Conjectures. First, I will give you some of their Nouns Plural.

Something of their Grammer.

Minnia,	A Man.	Minnis,	Men.
Cucula,	A Cock.	Cuculong,	Cocks.
Cole-la,	A Boy.	Colani,	Boyes.
Gahah,	A Tree.	Gos,	Trees.
Auhoun,	A Horse.	Auspio,	horses.
Polaha,	A young Jack.	Polas,	Jacks.

But usually when they have occasion to speak of many they express themselves by Numerals set after the Noun; as Dissawva two, three, &c. An Egg, Bittera, Eggs, Bittera cattei, word for word, Egg many.

Their Verbs they form after this manner:

Mam conna,	I eat.	Caupoudi,	Let him eat.
Mam conyum,	I will eat.	Caum,	Let us eat.
Mam cava,	I have eat.	Conda,	To eat.
Conowa,	Eating.	Caula,	Eaten.

Mam denyam, I will give.
Mam Doun-na, I gave.
Dila, I have given.
Dendi, { Shall I give? / To give.
Dem, Let us give.
Dennowa, Giving.
Dipon, Give him.
Douna, or Dila tiana, } Given.

Mam yonyam, I'le go.
Mam yonda oni, I will go.
Yonda dipadi, Let him go.
Pollatch, Gone, spoken of an ordinary person.
Pollad-da, Gone, spoken of a person of great quality.

Yong, Let us go.
Yonowa, Going.

Mam oy, I am.
Mam gia atti, I have been. [Atti] signifieth [have].

Eai, He, or They, or He is.
Gia dendi, Let him, or give him leave to go.

A Specimen of their words.

Dio, God.
Dio loco, Heaven.
Jacco, The Devil.
Narra cauda, Hell.
Aucoi, The Sky.
Taurcoi, A Star.
Deure, Winter.
Gindere, Fire.
Gani, A Woman.
Rodgura, A King.
Haul, Raw rice.
Bat, Boyled Rice.
Banglale, A Table.
Wellau, Time.
Wauri, Season.
Colading, Harvest.

Oppa, Pianannah, Oppatchi, } Father.
Puta, Putandi, } Son.

Omma, Ommandea, } Mother.
Dua, Donianna, } Daughter.

Molla, A flower.
Gauhah, A tree.
Courilla, A bird.
Gom, A town.
Oppuland, To wash cloths.
Naund, To wash the body.
Goumanic, A journey.
Pinaund, To swim.
Coppaund, To cut.
Horraund, To bore.
Hoppacaund, To bite.
Coraund, To do. [done.
Corowaund, To cause to be [p. 109.]
Gauman corowaund, To send, word for word, to cause to do a journey.

Heuwoya, Heuwoynanna, Heuwoynanoura, } All words signifying Common Soldiers, only they are titles one above another, and the two last are as much as to say Gentlemen Soldiers.

Heuwoy com-coraund, } To fight, as much as to say, To act the Soldier.

Mihi,	To dye.	Negantind Eppa,	Do not rise.
Mich,	Dead.	Tonnaund,	To build.
Mienyum,	I will dye.	Tannitch,	Built.
Micœnowa,	Dying.	Tounchero	utwitch, It is finished.
Eppa,	Do not.	Na & Natti,	No, or not.
Negatind,	To rise.		
Upaudénowa,	The Resurrection.		

I shall only make one Observation from these words, and that is concerning the four first. It is this, that they have no words of their own Language for God and Heaven, but in all probability borrowed them from the Portugueze. But for the two next, The Devil and Hell, words of their own. They number thus,

Their Numbering.

Eckhoi	I.	Dauhottunhoi	XIII.
Deckhoi	II.	Dauhotterhoi	XIV.
Tunhoi	III.	Paulohoi	XV.
Hotterhoi	IV.	Dauhossahoi	XVI.
Pauhhoi	V.	Dauhahottoi	XVII.
Hoyhoi	VI.	Dauha ot hoi	XVIII.
Hothoi	VII.	Dauhanovihoi	XIX.
Ot hoi	VIII.	Vishoi	XX.
Novihoi	IX.	Tihoi	XXX.
Dauhoihoi	X.	Hottalehoi	XL.
Eckolauhoi	XI.	Ponnahoi	L.
Dolahoi	XII.		

Chap. X.

Concerning their Learning, Astronomy, and Art Magick.

THeir Learning is but small. All they ordinarily learn is to read and to write. But it is no shame to a man if he can do neither. Nor have they any Schools wherein they might be taught and instructed in these or any other Arts. *Of their Learning.*

Their Books are only of their Religion and of Physick. Their chief Arts are Astronomy and Magick. They have a Language something differing from the vulgar tongue (like Latin to us) which their Books are writ in. They learn to write upon Sand, spreading it upon the ground, and making it smooth with the hand, and so write the letters with their fingers to bring their hand in use. *Their Books, and Arts.* *How they learn to write.*

They write not on Paper, for of that they have little or none; but on a Talli-pot leaf with an Iron Bodkin, which makes an impression. This leaf thus written on, is not folded, but rolled up like Ribbond, and somewhat resembles Parchment.

If they are to write a Book, they do it after this manner. They take the Tallipot leaf, and cut it into divers pieces of an equal shape and size, some a foot, some eight inches, some a foot and an half long, and about three fingers broad. Then having thus prepared the leaves, they write in them long ways from the left hand to the right, as we do. When the Book is finished they take two pieces of board, which are to serve for the cover of the Book. To these boards are fastened two strings, which do pass thro every leaf of the Book, and these tye it up fast together. As the Reader hath read each leaf, he lifts it up, and lays it by still hanging upon the strings, and so goes to the next leaf, something resembling Bills filed upon Wyre. *How they make and write a Book.* [p. 110.] *The Priests write Books of Bonna.*

The Gonnies, who are men of leisure, write many Books

of Bonna, that is of the Ceremonies of their Religion: and will sometimes carry them to great Men, as a present, and do expect a reward.

The King's Warrants how wrapped up.

The King when he sends any Warrants or Orders to his Officers, hath his Writings wrapped up in a way proper to himself, and none else do or may fold up their leaves in that manner but He.

They write upon two sorts of leaves.

They write upon the Tallipat leaves Records or matters of great moment, or that are to be kept and preserved: but for any ordinary business as Letters, &c. they commonly use another leaf, called Taulcole. The leaves of which will bear a better impression than the Tallipat, but they are more stubborn, and harder than the other, and will not fold.

Their Skill in Astronomy.

But to speak a little of their Astronomy. They who have understanding in it, and practise it, are the Priests of the highest Order, of which the present King's Father was. But the common sort of Astronomers are the Weavers. These men can certainly foretel Eclipses of the Sun and Moon. They make Leet, that is Almanacks that last for a Month. They are written upon a Tallipat leaf, a little above a foot long, and two fingers broad. In them are told the Age of the Moon, and the good Seasons and times to begin to Plough or to Sow, or to go a Journey, or to take any work in hand. On this precise time they will be sure to sprinkle their first Seed, tho they sow all their Field it may be a Month after. And so they will begin to set forth at the very moment, tho possibly they will not go their Journey till some days after.

Their Almanacks.

They pretend to know future things by the Stars.

These Astronomers tell them also when the old year ends to the very minute. At which time they cease from all work, except the Kings, which must not be omitted. They acquaint them also with the good hour of the New year, they are to begin to work. At which time every Man and Woman begins to do somewhat in their employment they intend to follow the ensuing year. They have also another season directed them by their Astronomers: that is, when to begin to wash their heads, which is assigned

to every one according to the time of their Nativities, which Ceremony they observe very religiously.

These Astronomers, or rather Astrologers, are skilful in the Knowledge of the Stars, and Planets, of which they reckon nine: 'tis supposed they may add the Dragon's Head and Tail. By which they pretend to foretel all things concerning the health and recovery of Sick Persons; also concerning the fate of Children born, about which the Parents do presently consult them, and save their Children or kill them according to the fortunate or unfortunate hour they tell the Parents they were born in.

When a Person is Sick, he carries to these men his Nativity, which they call Hanna hom pot, upon the perusal of which they tell his destiny. These also direct fit times for beginning Journeys, or other undertakings. They are likewise consulted concerning Marriages by looking upon the Man and Woman's Nativity.

[p. 111.] *Their Æra, Their Years, Months, Weeks, Days, Hours.*

They reckon their Time from one Saccawarsi an ancient King. Their year consists of 365 days. They begin their year upon our Eight and twentieth day of March, and sometimes the Seven and twentieth, and sometimes, but very seldom, on the Nine and twentieth. The reason of which I conceive to be, to keep it equal to the course of the Sun, as our Leap year doth. They call the year Ouredah. This they divide into Twelve Months, named, Wasachmaha, Pomaha, Ahaiamoha, Micheneha, Bochmoha, &c. They divide their Months into Weeks, each consisting of seven days, called Iridah, Sandudah, Onghorudah, Bodadah, Braspotindah, Secouradah, Henouradah. The first of which they account a good and a fortunate day to begin to do or undertake any thing: and it falls out upon our Sunday. On their Wednesdays, and Saturdays they open their Churches, and perform their Ceremonies. Their day, which they call Dausack, they divide into Thirty Pays, hours or parts, and begin their account from the Sun-rising, and their Night also into as many, and begin from Sun-setting: So that the Fifteenth Pay is Twelve a Clock at Noon. They have a Flower by which

they judge of the time, which constantly blows open seven Pays before Night.

How they measure their time.

They have no Clocks, Hour-glasses, or Sun-Dials, but keep their time by guess. The King indeed hath a kind of Instrument to measure time. It is a Copper Dish holding about a Pint, with a very small hole in the bottom. This Dish they set a swimming in an Earthen Pot of water, the water leaking in at the bottom till the Dish be full, it sinks. And then they take it out, and set it empty on the water again, and that makes one Pay. Few or none use this but the King, who keeps a man on purpose to watch it continually. The People will use it upon some occasions, as if they are to sow their Corn at any particular hour, as being the good lucky Season, then they make use of the Copper Pan, to know the time exactly.

Their Magick.

They do practise Magick. Whereof take these two remarkable instances of many that might be given.

The Plenty of a Countrey destroyed by Magick.

The Countrey of Neurecalava formerly brought forth great plenty of Corn, occasioned by reason of its large waterings. A Neighbour Kingdom, the Kingdom of Cournegal which lyes in Hotcourley, in those times was brought to a great dearth. At which the King sends to the People of Neurecalava, that they would bring a supply of Corn to his Countrey, which they did in great store upon Beasts in Sacks, and arrived at the King's City: and there for the more expeditious measuring out every Housholder his proportion of Corn, they made a hole in the Sacks, and let it run out, still driving on the Beasts before them: and all that was shed before every man's House, was to be his share. This exceedingly gratified the King.

Afterward the King to requite them, asked what they most needed in their Countrey? They answered, They had plenty of all things, only they wanted Cahah mirris, that is Turmeric and Pepper. The King to gratifie them sent them such a quantity of each as his Countrey could afford. As soon as this was brought to the People of Neurecalava, they went to measure it out to every man his Portion, but finding it of so small a quantity, they

resolved to grind it, as they do when they use it with their Victuals, and put it into the River to give a seasoning to the water, and every Man was to take up his Dish of water [p. 112.] thus seasoned. From whence Neurecalava had its denomination, viz. from Neur, signifying a City, and Cahah that signifies Turmeric, and Lava, as if it were Lalla, put into the River.

The King hearing of this Action of theirs was offended, in that they so contemned his gift; but concealed his displeasure. Sometime after he took a Journey to them, and being there, desired to know how their Countrey became so very fruitful. They told him, it was the water of the River pent up for their use in a very vast Pond. Out of which they made Trenches to convey the water down into their Corn Grounds. This Pond they had made with great Art and Labour with great Stones and Earth thrown up of a vast length and thickness, in the fashion of an half Moon. The King afterwards took his leave of them and went home; and by the help of his Magicians brake down this vast Dam that kept in the water, and so destroyed the Pond. And by this means this fruitful Countrey wanting her water is become as ordinary Land as the rest, having only what falls out of the Sky.

Their Charm to find out a Thief.

When a Robbery is committed to find the Thief, they Charm a Coker-nut, which is done by certain words, and any one can do it, that can but utter the Charm words. Then they thrust a stick into it, and set it either at the Door or hole the Thief went out at. Then one holds the stick with the Nut at the end of it, and the Nut pursues and follows in the Tract that the Thief went. All the way it is going they still continue Charming, and flinging the Blossoms of the Betel-nut-Tree upon it. And at last it will lead to the house or place where the Thief is, and run upon his Feet. This Nut will sometimes go winding hither and thither, and sometimes will stand still. Then they follow their Charms, strewing on Blossoms, and that sets it forward again. This is not enough to find the Thief guilty; but if they intend to prosecute the Man upon this

Discovery, the Charmer must swear against him point blank: which he sometimes will do upon the Confidence of the Truth of his Charm: And the supposed Thief must either Swear or be Condemned.

The way to dissolve this Charm.

Oftentimes Men of courage and metal, will get Clubs, and beat away the Charmer, and all his Company, and by this means put all to an end. If the Thief has the wit to lay his tail by the way, the Coker-nut when it comes thither will stop and run round about it, but go no further. I doubting the truth hereof, once took the stick, and held it my self, when they were upon this Business, but it moved not forward while I held it in my hand, tho they strewed their Flowers, and used their mutterings to provoke it. But afterwards when another took it, it went forward. I doubted whether they did not guide it with their hand, but they assured me it guided their hand.

Inscriptions upon Rocks.

Here are some antient writings engraven upon Rocks which poseth all that see them. There are divers great Rocks in divers parts in Conde Uda, and in the Northern Parts. These Rocks are cut deep with great Letters for the space of some yards, so deep that they may last to the worlds end. No body can read them or make any thing of them. I have asked Malabars, Gentuses, as well as Chingulays and Moors, but none of them understood them. You walk over some of them. There is an antient Temple [p. 113.] in Goddiladenni in Yattanour stands by one place where there are of these Letters. They are probably in memorial of something, but of what we must leave to learned men to spend their conjectures.

Chap. XI.

Of their Sickness, Death and Burial.

Othing now remains, but to carry you to their Sick-beds, and to tell you what they do with the Bodies of their friends deceased, and their Behavior on these occasions. They live to a great Age very often to fourscore, and hale at that age, the Kings Sister was near an hundred. They are healthy and of a sound constitution. The Diseases this Land is most subject to, are Agues and Fevours, and sometimes to Bloody-fluxes. The Small-Pox also sometimes happeneth among them. From which they cannot free themselves by all their charms and inchantments, which are often times successful to them in other distempers. Therefore they do confess like the Magicians in Egypt, that this is the very finger of Almighty God. They are also subject to Aches and Pains in their Bodies. For the Remedy whereof they have excellent oyntments and oyls, which they make and keep to have ready when they have occasion.

The diseases this Countrey is subject to.

Here are no professed Physitians nor Chyrurgeons, but all in general have some skill that way, and are Physitians and Chyrurgeons to themselves. Their Medicines they make of the leaves that are in the Woods, and the barks of Trees. With which they purge and vomit themselves, and will do notable Cures upon green wounds, and also upon sore eyes.

Every one a Physitian to himself.

To give a few hints of their method of Physick and what Ingredients they make use of.

For purging they make use of a Tree called Dallugauhah. It bears no leaves, nothing but thorns, and is of a soft substance. Being cut there runs out a white thick milk; in which we soak some whole corns of Pepper a whole night. The next day the Pepper is taken out, and washed

To Purge.

clean, and then boyled in fair water with a sower fruit they call Goraca, which we shall speak of by and by. This they drink, and it purgeth very well. This milk is rekoned as rank Poyson as any thing can be, and yet the Goats eat of the Tree greedily without harm.

To Vomit. For a Vomit, there is a leaf of a Plant called Warracole in colour like a Cabbage leaf, but smaller; it grows upon a long stalk some three foot high. This leaf as soon as it is broken from the stalk is full of milk, which runs out. In this milk they put a lump of Salt, and let it lye a whole night. The next day they take the Salt out, which is not dissolved, and wash it clean: then boyl a little, Rice and Water together. After tis taken off the fire, they put this salt into it, and drink it.

There is a strong Purge they make with a berry called Jawpolls, which is a little long greenish berry. Of it self [p. 114.] it is rank Poyson. They boyl it with Goraca, and Pepper in water, and drink a little of the water.

To heal Sores. For drawing and healing of Sores, they have a leaf called Mockinacola; it is a very like our Tunhoof or Ground-ivy, only it is a brighter green; it runs along upon the ground and spreads it self as Tunhoof doth. They only take the leaf and clap it upon the sore.

To heal an Impostume. For an Impostume in the Throat, we take the rind of the Tree Amaranga and bruise it and rub it with green Turmeric, and wrap it up in a Plantane leaf, and bury it in hot ashes, and there let it lye an hour or two till the fire hath well qualified it. Then the Patient takes it, and keeps chewing it for a day or two swallowing the spittle. The Virtue of this I my self can testifie being exceedingly ill with a sore Throat, and could not swallow. By the use of this I was well within a day and a night.

For a hurt in the Eye. For a sore or hurt in the eye, they take Oulcande-cole, Goderacole, two herbs, the juyce of each, and womans milk and having mingled them, drop them into the eye. I had a Thorn of a considerable length run into the gray of my eye, and put me to great pain, the Chingulays advised me to use this means, assuring me how successful it was wont

to be; but I was loath to tamper with so tender a place; and thanks be to God, after some days the Thorn fell out of it self.

To cure the Itch.

It is a speedy Cure of the Itch, to take Coudouro giddi, a fruit of a Tree in form somewhat like a Mussel but bigger. This fruit they cut in slices and fry it in Coker-nut oyl. And with this oyl they anoint the body.

The Caudle for Lying in women. Goraca.

The ordinary Caudle for Women in Child-bed, is Goraca boyled in water with Pepper and Ginger. Women in that condition use nothing else. This Goraca is a fruit round like an Apple marked with divers creases along the sides of it. Being ripe it is within and without red like blood, but sower. They use this fruit as we do Lemons and Oranges. The core is sweet and pleasant, but they regarding it not fling it away. If you bite this fruit, it sticks to the Teeth like wax or pitch. But their chief use of it, is to boyl it with other things to make them tast sower. They gather them at the time of year, and break the cloves assunder by their fingers, for they, if they be pulled, will part at the creases. And then they lay them in the Sun and dry them, being dryed they look like mens ears. And so they keep them for their use. Two or three of these will give a pleasant sower relish unto a large vessel of any liquid thing. This Goraca is in great use among them.

Excellent at the cure of Poyson.

As there are in this Countrey very many Poysonous Plants, and Creatures, so the People have excellent skill in the healing thereof. There is one plant among the rest so strong a venom, that no creature will eat or touch it; and this is the leaf, that the People sometimes carry with them when they go to demand their debts, and threaten their debtors, they will poyson themselves before them, unless they will pay them. It is called Neiingala, a sprig that springs out of the ground almost like an Hony-suckle, but not so big: and bears a curious Flower much like an Hony-suckle.

They easily heal the biting of Serpents, by herbs.

They are oftentimes stung with venomous Serpents, upon which sudden death follows without speedy help: But if the bite be taken in time, they can certainly cure them-

selves, and make nothing of it. Which they perform both
[p. 115.] by Herbs and Charms. Tho upon the sting they presently vomit blood. The knowledg of these antidotal herbs they have learned from the Mounggoutia a kind of Ferret. This creature when the Noya and he meets always fight. If he chanceth to be bitten by the Serpent, which is very venomous, he runs away to a certain herb and eats it and so is cured, and then comes back and fights again. The Chingulays when they see these two creatures fighting, do diligently observe them, and when they see the Mounggoutia goes away, they take notice of the herbs he eats, and thereby have learned what herbs are proper to cure such venoms.

And Charms. They are skilful also in the use of Charms, to cure the stings of Serpents or to prevent them, the Noyas they can charm to that pass, that they will take them up in their hands, and carry them in baskets and handle them and kiss them without any harm. But the Polonga will not hear a charm. They charm other wild and venomous creatures also ; as the Tyger that he shall not hurt their Cattel.

Not good at healing inward distempers. But to cure inward diseases they are not excellent. But generally when they are sick they apply themselves to their Gods. But their chief supplication they make to the Devil, as being God's instrument, sent to punish and afflict whom he pleaseth ; as I have discoursed at large already.

They both bury and burn their dead. These People are very loath to dye, and as much afraid of the Devil in their sickness, whom at such times they chiefly invoke. Being dead none will come near the house for many days, lest they should be defiled. The better sort burn the dead, because worms and maggots should not eat them. But the poorer sort who regard not such matters bury them making a hole in the Woods, and carrying the body wrapped up in a mat upon a Pole on their shoulders with two or three attending it, and so laying it in without any ceremony, and covering it.

They send for a Priest to pray for his Soul. Some days after his decease, if his friends wish well to his Soul, they send for a Priest to the house, who spends a whole night in praying and singing for the saving of that

The manner of burning their Dead.

Soul. This Priest besides very good entertainment, in the morning must have great gifts and rewards. And to encourage them therein, he tells them that the like bounty and liberality as they shew to him, shall the Soul of their departed friend receive in the other world. And so according to their ability, they freely give unto him, such things as they are possessors of. And he out of his wonderful good nature refuseth not any thing, be it never so mean. And thus with Drums and Pipes sounding before him, they conduct him home to his house.

How they mourn for the dead.

Their manner of mourning for the dead is, that all the Women that are present do loose their hair, and let it hang down, and with their two hands together behind their heads do make an hideous noise, crying and roaring as loud as they can, much praysing and extolling the Virtues of the deceased, tho there were none in him: and lamenting their own woful condition to live without him. Thus for three or four mornings they do rise early, and lament in this manner, also on evenings. Mean while the men stand still and sigh.

The nature of the Women.

These women are of a very strong couragious spirit, taking nothing very much to heart, mourning more for fashion than affection, never overwhelmed neither with grief or love. And when their Husbands are dead, all their care is where to get others, which they cannot long be without.

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How they Bury.

It may not be unacceptable to relate how they bury their Dead. As for Persons of inferior Quality, they are interred in some convenient places in the Woods, there being no set places for Burial, carried thither by two or three of their Friends, and Buried without any more ado. They lay them on their Backs, with their heads to the West and their feet to the East, as we do. Then those People go and wash; for they are unclean by handling the Dead.

How they Burn.

But Persons of greater quality are burned, and that with Ceremony. When they are dead they lay them out, and put a Cloth over their Privy Parts, and then wash the Body,

by taking half a dozen Pitchers of water, and pouring upon it. Then they cover him with a Linnen cloth, and so carry him forth to burning. This is when they burn the Body speedily. But otherwise, they cut down a Tree that may be proper for their purpose, and hollow it, like a Hog-trough, and put the Body being Embowelled and Embalmed into it, filled up all about with Pepper. And so let it lay in the house, until it be the King's Command to carry it out to the burning. For that they dare not do without the King's order, if the Person deceased be a Courtier. Sometimes the King gives no order in a great while, it may be not at all. Therefore in such cases, that the Body may not take up house-room, or annoy them, they dig an hole in the floar of their house, and put hollowed tree and all in and cover it. If afterwards the King commands to burn the Body, they take it up again in obedience to the King, otherwise there it lyes.

Their order for burning is thus. If the Body be not thus put into a Trough or hollowed Tree, it is laid upon one of his Bedsteds, which is a great honour among them. This Bedsted with the Body on it, or hollowed Tree with the Body in it, is fastned with Poles, and carried upon Mens Shoulders unto the place of Burning: which is some eminent place in the Fields or High-ways, or where else they please. There they lay it upon a Pile of Wood some two or three foot high. Then they pile up more Wood upon the Corps, lying thus on the Bedsted, or in the Trough. Over all they have a kind of Canopy built, if he be a Person of very high Quality covered at top, hung about with painted Cloth, and bunches of Coker-nuts, and green Boughs; and so fire is put to it. After all is burnt to ashes, they sweep together the ashes into the manner of a Sugar-loaf: and hedg the place round from wild Beasts breaking in, and they will sow Herbs there. Thus I saw the King's Uncle, the chief Tirinanx, who was as it were the Primate of all the Nation, burned, upon an high place, that the blaze might be seen a great way. If they be Noblemen, but not of so high quality, there is only a

Bower erected over them, adorned with Plantane Trees, and green boughs, and bunches as before.

But if any dye of the small Pox, be his Degree what it will, he must be Buried upon Thorns, without any further Ceremony. *How they bury those that die of the Small Pox.*

[p. 117.]

PART IV.

Chap. I.

Of the reason of our going to Ceilon, and Detainment there.

The subject of this fourth Part.

IN this Fourth and last Part, I purpose to speak concerning our Captivity in this Island, and during which, in what Condition the English have lived there, and the eminent Providence of God in my escape thence, together with other matters relating to the Dutch, and other European Nations, that dwell and are kept there. All which will afford so much variety, and new matters, that I doubt not but the Readers will be entertained with as much delight in perusing these things, as in any else that have been already related. I begin with the unhappy Occasion of our going to this Countrey.

The occasion of their coming to Ceilon.

Anno MDCLVII. The Ann Frigat of London, Capt. Robert Knox Commander, on the One and twentieth day of January, set Sail out of the Downs, in the Service of the Honourable the English East-India Company, bound for Fort S. George, on the Coast of Cormandel, to Trade one year from Port to Port in India. Which we having performed, as we were Lading of Goods to return for England, being in the Road of Matlipatan, on the Nineteenth of November Anno MDCLIX. happened such a mighty Storm, that in it several Ships were cast away, and

we forced to cut our Main-Mast by the Board, which so disabled the Ship, that she could not proceed in her Voyage. Whereupon Cotiar, in the Island of Ceilon, being a very commodious Bay, fit for our present Distress, Thomas Chambers Esq. (since Sir Thomas) the Agent at Fort S. George, ordered, That the Ship should take in some Cloth, and go to Cotiar Bay, there to Trade, while she lay to set her Mast. Where being arrived according to the appointment of those Indian Merchants of Porta Nova we carried with us, to whom those Goods belonged, they were put ashore, and we minded our Business to set another Main-mast, and repair our other Dammages we had sustained by the late Storm.

They were not jealous of the People, being very courteous.

At our first coming thither, we were shy and jealous of the People of the Place, by reason our Nation never had any Commerce or Dealing with them. But now having been there some Twenty days, and going a Shore and coming on Board at our Pleasure without any molestation, the Governor of the Place also telling us, that we were welcom, as we seemed to our selves to be, we began to lay aside all suspitious thoughts of the People dwelling thereabouts, who had very kindly entertained us for our Moneys with such Provisions and Refreshings as those Parts afforded.

[p. 118.] *A pretended Message to the Captain from the King.*

By this time the King of the Countrey had notice of our being there, and as I suppose grew suspicious of us, not having all that while by any Message made him acquainted with our intent and purpose in coming. Thereupon he dispatched down a Dissauva or General with his Army to us. Who immediately sent a Messenger on Board to acquaint the Captain with his coming, and desired him to come ashore to him, pretending a Letter to him from the King. We saluted the Message with firing of Guns, and my Father the Captain ordered me with Mr. John Loveland, Merchant of the Ship, to go on shore and wait upon him. When we were come before him, he demanded who we were, and how long we should stay? We told him, We were English, and not to stay above

twenty or thirty days, and desired Permission to Trade in his Majestie's Port. His answer was, the King was glad to hear that the English were come to his Countrey, and had commanded him to assist us as we should desire, and had sent a Letter to be delivered to none, but to the Captain himself.

We were then some twelve Miles from the Sea-side. Our reply was, That the Captain could not leave his Ship to come so far, but if he pleased to come down to the Sea-side himself, the Captain would immediately wait upon him to receive the Letter. Upon which the Dissauva desired us to stay that day, and on the morrow he would go down with us.

Which being a small request, and we unwilling to displease him, consented to.

The beginning of their Suspition.

The same day at Evening, the Dissauva sent two of his chief Captains to the House where we lay to tell us, That he was sending a Present to the Captain, and if we pleased we might send a Letter to him; that he would send the Present in the Night, and himself with us follow the next Morning. At which we began to suspect, and accordingly concluded to write and advise the Captain not to adventure himself, nor any other on shore till he saw us. We having writ a Letter to this purpose they took it and went away, but never delivered it.

The Captain seized, and seven more.

The next Morning the Present, which was Cattle, Fruit, &c. was brought to the Sea-side, and delivered to the Captain; the Messengers telling him withal, that we were upon the way coming down, with the Dissauva; who desired his Company on shore against his coming, having a Letter from the King to deliver into his own hand. Hereupon the Captain mistrusting nothing, came up with his Boat into a small River, and being come ashore, sat down under a Tamarind Tree, waiting for the Dissauva and us. In which time the Native Soldiers privately surrounded him and his Men, having no Arms with them; and so he was seized on and seven men with him, yet without any violence or plundering them of any thing: and then

they brought them up unto us, carrying the Captain in a Hammock upon their Shoulders.

The Long-boat Men seized.

The next day after, the Long-boats Crew, not knowing what had happened, came ashore to cut a Tree to make Cheeks for the Main-mast, and were made Prisoners after the same manner, tho' with more violence. For they being rough and making resistance, were bound with Wyths, and so were led away till they came where the People got Ropes. Which when our Men saw brought to them, they were not a little affrighted. For being already bound, they concluded there could be no other use for those Ropes [p. 119.] but to hang them. But the true use of them was to bind them faster, fearing lest the Wyths might break, and so they were brought up farther into the Countrey; but afterwards being become more tame, they were loosed. They would not adventure to bring them to us, but quartered them in another House, tho in the same Town. Where without leave we could not see one another. The House wherein they kept the Captain and us, was all hanged with white Callico, which is the greatest Honour they can shew to any. But the House wherein the other men were, that were brought up after us, was not. They gave us also as good Entertainment as the Countrey afforded.

The General's Craft to get the Ship, as well as the Men.

Having thus taken both our Boats and Eighteen men of us, their next care was, fearing lest the Ship should be gone, to secure her: Therefore to bring this about, the Dissauva told the Captain that the reason of this their detainment was, that the King intended to send Letters and a Present to the English Nation by him, and therefore that the Ship must not go away, till the King was ready to send his Messenger and Message, and thereupon desired the Captain to send on Board to order her stay; and it being not safe for her to ride in the Bay, lest the Dutch might come and fire her, that he should take order for her bringing up into the River. Which advice of his, the Captain approved not of. But concealing his dislike of it, replied, that unless he could send two of his own men on Board with his Letter and Order, those in the Ship

would not obey him, but speedily would be gone with the Ship. Which he, rather than he would run the hazzard of the Ships departing, granted; imagining that the Captain would order the Ship to be brought up into the River, as he had advised, tho the Captain intended to make another use of this Message.

The Captain's Order to them on board the ship.

Upon which the Captain sent two of his men, some Indians accompanying them in a Canoo to the Ship, the Captain ordering them when they were aboard not to abuse the Indians, but to entertain them very kindly, and afterwards that setting them ashore, they should keep the Canoo to themselves, instead of our two Boats, which they had gotten from us, and to secure the Ship, and wait till further order.

These two men stayed on Board, and came not back again. This together with the Ships not coming up displeased the Dissauva, and he demanded of the Captain the reason thereof. His answer was, That being detained on Shore, the Men on Board would not obey his Command.

The Captain's second Message to his Ship.

Upon this some days after the Dissauva bid the Captain send his Son with order to those aboard that the Ship might be brought into the River, but provided that he would be Security for my return; which he promised he would. His order to me was, to see the top Chains put upon the Cables, and the Guns Shotted, and to tell Mr. John Burford chief Mate, and all the rest, as they valued their Lives and Liberties to keep a Watch, and not to suffer any Boat to come near, after it was dark: and charged me upon his Blessing, and as I should answer it at the great Day, not to leave him in this Condition, but to return to him again. Upon which I solemnly vowed according to my Duty to be his Obedient Son.

[p. 120.] *The Ships Company refuse to bring up the Ship.*

So having seen all done according to his appointment, I wrote a Letter in the Name of the Company to clear my Father and my self, to this effect; That they would not obey the Captain, nor any other in this matter, but were resolved to stand upon their own defence. To which they all set their hands. Which done according to my

Promise and Duty I returned again, and delivered the Letter to the Dissauva, who was thereby answered, and afterwards urged the Captain no more in that matter: but gave him leave at his pleasure to write for what he pleased to have brought to him from the Ship: still pretending the King's order to release us, was not yet, but would suddenly come. And so we remained expecting it about two Months, being entertained as formerly with the best Diet and Accommodation of the Countrey.

The Captain orders the ship to depart.

Having continued thus long in suspence, and the time and season of the year spending for the Ship to proceed on her Voyage to some other place, and our condition being, as we feared, and afterwards found to be, the beginning of a sad Captivity, the Captain sent order to Mr. John Burford to take the charge of the Ship upon him, and to set Sail for Porto Nova whence we came, and there to follow the Agent's order.

The Lading of Cloth remained untouched.

If any inquire what became of the Cloth of our Lading, which we brought thither, they only took an account to see what it was, and so left it where and as it was before, and there it remained until both House and Goods rotted, as the People of the same Town informed me afterwards.

The probable reason of our Surprize.

I impute the main reason of our Surprize to our Neglect, viz. in not sending a Letter and Present to the King at our first coming. Who looking upon himself as a great Monarch, as he is indeed, requires to be treated with sutable State.

The number of those that were left on the Island.

Thus were Sixteen of us left to the mercy of those Barbarians, the Names of which are as follow. The Captain, Mr. Joh. Loveland, John Gregory, Charles Beard, Roger Gold, Stephen Rutland, Nicolas Mullins, Francis Crutch, John Berry, Ralph Knight, Peter Winn, William Hubbard, Arthur Emery, Richard Varnham, George Smith, and my Self. Tho our hearts were very heavy, seeing our selves betrayed into so sad a Condition, to be forced to dwell among those that knew not God nor his Laws; yet so great was the mercy of our gracious God, that he gave us favour in the sight of this People. Insomuch that we lived far

better than we could have expected, being Prisoners or rather Captives in the hands of the Heathen; from whom we could have looked for nothing but very severe usage.

The Dissauva departs.

The Ship being gone, the King sent to call the Dissauva speedily to him, who upon this order immediately marched away with his Army, leaving us where we were. But concerning us was no order at all.

[p. 121.]

Chap. II.

How we were carried up into the Countrey, and disposed of there, and of the sickness, sorrow and death of the Captain.

They intend to attempt an Escape, but are prevented.

THE Dissauva with his men being gone, the people of the Town were appointed to guard and secure us until further order. But they carryed us some six miles higher into the Countrey, and would not yet adventure to bring the Long boats-crew unto us, but kept them by themselves in another Town, fearing lest we might make an escape, as certainly we would have attempted it, had they not removed us. There was a small Moors Vessel, which lay in the River, which they had seized on about this time, as we supposed they would have done by our Ship if they could have catched her there. This Vessel had some forty men belonging to her, who were not made Prisoners as we were, but yet lay in the same Town: with those we had concluded, that they should furnish us with Arms, and in the night altogether to march down, and get on board of their Vessel, and so make our escape. But being prevented in this design by our departure, we were fain to lay at their mercy.

Their condition commiserated by the People.

In our new quarters our entertainment proved as good as formerly. And indeed there was this to mitigate our misery, that the People were courteous to us and seemed to pity us. For there is a great difference between the People inhabiting the high-lands, or the mountains of

Cande, and those of the low-lands where we now are placed, who are of a kinder nature by far than the other. For these Countreys beneath the mountains formerly were in subjection unto the Portugueze. Whereby they have been exercised and acquainted with the customs and manners of Christian People. Which pleasing them far better than their own have begot and bred in them a kind of love and affection towards Strangers, being apt to shew Pity and Compassion on them in their distress. And you shall hear them oftentimes upbraiding the High-landers for their insolent and rude behavior.

They are distributed into divers Towns.

It was a very sad Condition whilst we were all together, yet hitherto each others company lessened our sufferings, and was some comfort that we might condole one another. But now it came to pass that we must be separated and placed asunder, one in a Village, where we could have none to confer withall or look upon, but the horrible black faces of our heathen enemies, and not understand one word of their Language neither, this was a great addition to our grief. Yet God was so merciful to us, as not to suffer them to part my Father and I.

An Order comes from the King to bring them up into the Countrey.

For it was some sixteen days after our last remove, the King was pleased to send a Captain with Soldiers to bring us up into the Country. Who brought us and the other men taken in the Long-boat together: Which was an heavy meeting; Being then, as we well saw, to be carried Captives into the mountains. That night we supped together, and the next morning changed our condition into real Captivity. Howbeit they gave us many comfortable promises, which we believed not; as, that the Kings intent was not to keep us any longer, than till another Ship came to carry us away. [p. 122.] Altho we had but very little to carry, God knows, yet they appointed men to carry the cloths that belonged to the Captain and Officers.

How they were Treated on the way in the Woods.

We still expected they would plunder us of our cloths, having nothing else to be plundered of: but the Chingulay Captain told us, that the King had given order that none should take the value of a thread from us: Which indeed

they did not. As they brought us up they were very tender of us, as not to tyre us with Travelling, bidding us go no faster than we would our selves. This kindness did somewhat comfort us. The way was plain and easie to Travail through great Woods, so that we walked as in an Arbour, but desolate of Inhabitants. So that for four or five nights we lay on the Ground, with Boughs of Trees only over our heads. And of Victuals twice a Day they gave us as much as we could eat, that is, of Rice, Salt-fish, dryed Flesh: And sometimes they would shoot Deer and find Hony in the Trees, good part of which they always brought unto us. And drink we could not want, there being Rivers and Puddles full of Water as we Travelled along.

And in the Towns among the Inhabitants.

But when we came out of the Woods among Inhabitants and were led into their Towns, they brought us Victuals ready dressed after their fashion, viz. Rice boiled in Water, and three other sorts of Food, whereof one Flesh, and the other two Herbs or such like things that grow in their Countrey, and all kinds of ripe Fruit, which we liked very well and fed heartily upon. Our entertainment all along was at the Charge of the Countrey: So we fed like Soldiers upon free Quarter. Yet I think we gave them good content for all the Charge we put them to. Which was to have the satisfaction of seeing us eat, sitting on Mats upon the Ground in their yards to the Publick view of all Beholders. Who greatly admired us, having never seen, nor scarce heard of, English-men before. It was also great entertainment to them to observe our manner of eating with Spoons, which some of us had, and that we could not take the Rice up in our hands, and put it to our mouths without spilling, as they do, nor gaped and powred the Water into our Mouths out of Pots according to their Countreys custom. Thus at every Town where we came they used both young and old in great Companies to stare upon us.

They are brought near Cande, ana there seperated.

Being thus brought up all together somewhat near to the City of Cande. Now came an Order from the King

to separate us, and to place us one in a Town. Which then seemed to us to be very hard, but it was for the convenience of getting Food, being quartered upon the Countrey at their Charge.

The Captain and his Son and two more quartered together.

The Captain, Mr. John Loveland, my self and John Gregory were parted from the rest, and brought nearer to the City, to be ready when the King should send for us. All the Rest were placed one in a Town according to the aforesaid Order. Special Command also was given from the King, that we all should be well entertained, and according to the Countrey fare we had no cause to complain. We four were thus kept together some two Months, faring well all the while. But the King minding us not, Order came from the great Men in Court to place us in Towns, as the rest were; only my father and I were still permitted to be together, and a great Charge given to use us well. And indeed twice a Day we had brought unto us as good fare as the Countrey afforded. All the rest had not their Provisions brought to them, as we had, but went to eat from house to house, each house taking its turn.

Parted.

How they fared. [p. 123.]

The Captain and his Son placed in Cooswat.

On the Sixteenth of September, 1660. My Father and I were placed in a Town called Bonder Coos-wat the situation was very pleasing and commodious, lying about Thirty Miles to the Northward of the City of Cande, in the Countrey called Hotcurly and distant from the rest of our People a full days journey. We were removed hither from another Town nearer to the City where the Nobles at Court supposing that the King would call for us, had placed us to have us ready. Being thus brought to Bonder Cooswat, the People put it to our choice which House we would have to reside in. The Countrey being hot and their Houses dark and dirty, my Father chose an open House, having only a Roof but no Walls. Wherein they placed a Cot, or Bedstead only with a Mat upon it for him, which in their Account is an extraordinary Lodging; and for me a Mat upon the Ground.

Moneys scarce with them.

Moneys at that time were very low with us. For

although we wanted not for opportunity to send for what we would have brought unto us from the Ship, yet fearing we should be plundered of it, sent not for any thing only a Pillow for my Father. For we held it a point without dispute, that they that made Prisoners of our Bodies would not spare to take our Goods; my Father also alledging, that he had rather his Children at home should enjoy them.

But they had good Provisions without it.

But to make amends for that, we had our Provisions brought us without money, and that twice a Day, so much as we could eat, and as good as their Countrey yielded; to wit, a Pot of good Rice, and three Dishes of such things as with them is accounted good Cheer; one always either Flesh, Fish or Eggs; but not over much of this Dish, the other Dishes, Herbs, Pumkins or such like, one of which is always made sower.

The Town where they were, Sickly.

The first year that we were brought into this Town, this part of the Land was extraordinary Sickly by Agues and Feavours, whereof many People dyed; insomuch that many times we were forced to remain an hungry, there being none well enough either to boil or bring Victuals unto us.

How they passed their time.

We had with us a Practice of Piety, and Mr. Rogers seven Treatises, called the Practice of Christianity. With which companions we did frequently discourse; and in the cool of the Evening walk abroad in the Fields for a refreshing, tyred with being all day in our House or Prison.

They both fall Sick.

This Course lasted until God was pleased to visit us both with the Countrey sickness, Ague and Feavour. The sight of my Fathers misery was far more grievous unto me than the sence of my own, that I must be a Spectator of his Affliction, and not any ways able to help him. And the sight of me so far augmented his grief, that he would often say, What have I done when I charged you to come ashore to me again, your dutifulness to me hath brought you to be a Captive. I am old and cannot long hold out, but you may live to see many days of Sorrow, if the mercy of God do not prevent it. But my prayers to God for you

shall not be wanting, that for this cause he would visit you with his Mercy, and bestow on you a Blessing.

[p. 124.] *Deep Grief seizes the Captain.*

My Father's Ague lasted not long, but deep grief daily more and more increased upon him, which so over-whelmed even his very heart, that with many a bitter sigh he used to utter these words, These many years even from my youth have I used the Seas, in which time the Lord God hath delivered me from a multitude of Dangers; rehearsing to me what great Dangers he had been in, in the Straits by the Turks and by other Enemies, and also in many other places, too large here to insert, and always how merciful God was to him in delivering him out of them all, So that he never knew what it was to be in the hand of an Enemy; But now in his old Age, when his head was grown grey, to be a Captive to the Heathen, and to leave his Bones in the Eastern Parts of the World, when it was his hopes and intention, if God permitted him to finish this Voyage, to spend and end the residue of his days at home with his Children in his Native Countrey, and to settle me in the Ship in his stead; the thoughts of these things did even break his heart.

Their Sickness continues.

Upwards of three Months my Father lay in this manner upon his Bed, having only under him a Mat and the Carpet he sat upon in the Boat when he came ashore, and a small Quilt I had to cover him withall. And I had only a Mat upon the Ground and a Pillow to lay on, and nothing to cover me but the Cloths on my back: but when I was cold, or that my Ague came upon me, I used to make a Fire, Wood costing nothing, but the fetching.

Their Boy's disobedience adds to their trouble.

We had a black Boy my Father brought from Porto Novo to attend upon him, who seeing his Master to be a Prisoner in the hands of the People of his own Complexion, would not now obey his Command, further than what agreed unto his own humour, neither was it then as we thought in our Power to compel or make him; but it was our ignorance. As for me, my Ague now came to a settled course; that is, once in three days, and so continued for Sixteen Months time.

His excessive sorrow.

There appearing now to us no probability, whereupon to build any hopes of Liberty, the sence of it struck my Father into such an Agony and strong Passion of Grief, that once I well remember in Nine days time nothing came into his mouth, but cold water; neither did he in three Months together ever rise up out of his Bed, but when the course of Nature required it: always groaning and sighing in a most piteous manner: which for me to hear and see come from my dear Father, my self also in the same Condition, did almost break my heart. But then I felt that Doctrine most true, which I had read out of Mr. Roger's Book, That God is most sweet, when the world is most bitter.

In this manner my Father lay until the Ninth of February $16\frac{60}{61}$. By which time he was consumed to an Anatomy, having nothing left but Skin to cover his Bones; yet he often would say, That the very sound of Liberty would so revive him, that it would put strength into his Limbs. But it was not the will of him, to whom we say, Thy will be done, to have it so.

His Discourse and charge to his Son before his Death.

The evening before his Death, he called me to come near his Bed side, and to sit down by him, at which time also I had a strong Feavor upon me. This done, he told me, That he sensibly felt his life departing from him; and was assured that this Night God would deliver him out of this Captivity, and that he never thought in all his Lifetime that Death could be so easie and welcom to any [p. 125.] Man, as God had made it to be to him, and the joyes he now felt in himself he wanted utterance to express to me. He told me, These were the last words, that ever he should speak to me, and bid me well regard and be sure to remember them, and tell them to my Brother and Sister, if it pleased God, as he hoped it would, to bring us together in England; where I should find all things settled to my contentation, relating to me after what manner he had settled his Estate by Letters which he sent from Cotiar.

In the first place and above all, He charged me to serve God, and with a circumspect care to walk in his ways, and

then, he said, God would bless me and prosper me. And next, he bad me have a care of my Brother and Sister. And lastly, He gave me a special charge to beware of strong Drink, and lewd Company, which as by Experience many had found, would change me into another man, so that I should not be my self. It deeply grieved him, he said, to see me in Captivity in the prime of my years, and so much the more because I had chosen rather to suffer Captivity with him than to disobey his Command. Which now he was heartily sorry for, that he had so commanded me, but bad me not repent of obeying the command of my Father; seeing for this very thing, he said, God would bless me, and bid me be assured of it, which he doubted not of, viz. That God Almighty would deliver me; which at that time I could not tell how to conceive, seeing but little sign of any such Matter. But blessed be the Name of my most gracious God, who hath so bountifully sustained me ever since in the Land of my Captivity, and preserved me alive to see my Deceased Father's word fulfilled! And truly I was so far from repenting, that I had obeyed the Command of my Father, and performed the Oath and Promise I made unto him upon it, that it rather rejoyced me to see that God had given me so much Grace.

But tho it was a trouble to him, that by his means I was thus made a Captive; yet it was a great Comfort to him, he said, to have his own Son sit by him on his Death-bed, and by his hands to be Buried, whereas otherwise he could expect no other but to be eaten by Dogs or wild Beasts. Then he gave me order concerning his Burial, That having no winding sheet, I should pull his Shirt over his head, and slip his Breeches over his feet, and so wrap him up in the Mat he layd upon: and then ceased speaking, and fell into a Slumber. This was about Eight or Nine a Clock in the Evening, and about Two or Three in the Morning he gave up the Ghost, Feb. the Ninth, 1660, being very sensible unto the very instant of his Departure. *His Death.*

According to his own appointment with my own hands I wrapped him up ready for the Grave; my self being *And Burial.*

very sick and weak, and as I thought ready to follow after him. Having none but the black Boy with me, I bad him ask the People of the Town for help to carry my Father to the Grave, because I could not understand their Language. Who immediately brought forth a great Rope they used to tye their Cattle withal, therewith to drag him by the Neck into the Woods, saying, They could afford me no other help, unless I would pay for it. This Insolency of the Heathen grieved me much to see, neither could I with the Boy alone do what was necessary for his Burial, though we had been able to carry the Corps, having not wherewithal to dig a Grave, and the ground very dry and [p. 126.] hard. Yet it was some comfort to me that I had so much Ability as to hire one to help; which at first I would not have spared to have done, had I known their meaning.

The Place where he lyes.

By this means I thank God, in so decent a manner as our present condition would permit, I laid my Father's Body in the Grave. Most of which I digged with my own hands; the place being in a Wood, on the North-side of a Corn Field, where heretofore we had used often to walk, going up to Handapoul: that Division, as I have said, being called Bonder Cooswat, because formerly it had belonged to the Revenues or Jointure of the Queen, Bonder implying something relating to the King. It lyes towards the Northwest of the middle of the Island in the County of Hotcurly.

Thus was I left Desolate, Sick, and in Captivity, having no earthly Comforter, none but only He who looks down from Heaven to hear the groaning of the Prisoners, and to shew himself a Father of the Fatherless, and a present help to them that have no helper.

Upon the Captain's death, a Message sent his Son from Court.

The News of my Father's Death being carried to Court, presently two Messengers were sent from thence to see me, and to know of me, How and in what manner my Father died, and what he had left. Which was a Gold Ring, a Pagoda, and some two or three Dollars and a few old Cloths; God knows but a very little, yet it scared me not a little, fearing they would take it away from me, and

my want being so great; but they had no such order nor intent. But the chief occasion of their coming was to renew the former order unto the People of that Town, that they should be kind to me and give me good Victuals, lest I might dye also as my Father had done. So for a while I had better entertainment than formerly.

Chap. III.

How I lived after my Father's Death. And of the Condition of the rest of the English: and how it fared with them. And of our Interview.

His chief employment is Reading.

I Still remained where I was before, having none but the black Boy, and my Ague to bear me Company. Never found I more pleasure in Reading, Meditating and Praying than now. For there was nothing else could administer to me any Comfort, neither had I any other Business to be occupied about. I had read my two Books so often over, that I had them almost by heart. For my custom was after Dinner to take a Book and go into the Fields and sit under a Tree, reading and meditating until Evening; excepting the Day when my Ague came, for then I could scarce hold up my head. Often have I prayed as Elijah under the Juniper Tree, that God would take away my life, for it was a burthen to me.

He loses his Ague.

At length it pleased God my Ague began to be a little moderate; and so by degrees it wore away, after it had held me sixteen Months.

[p. 127.]

How he met with an English Bible in that Countrey.

Provisions falling short with me, tho Rice I thank God, I never wanted, and Monies also growing low; as well to help out a Meal as for Recreation, sometimes I went with an Angle to catch small Fish in the Brooks, the aforesaid Boy being with me. It chanced as I was Fishing, an old Man passed by, and seeing me, asked of my Boy, If I could read in a Book. He answered, Yes. The reason I ask, said the old Man, is because I have one I

got when the Portugueze lost Columbo, and if your Master please to buy it, I will sell it him. Which when I heard of, I bad my Boy go to his House with him, which was not far off, and bring it to me to see it, making no great account of the matter, supposing it might be some Portugueze Book.

The Boy having formerly served the English, knew the Book, and as soon as he had got it in his hand came running with it, calling out to me, It is a Bible. It startled me to hear him mention the name of a Bible. For I neither had one, nor scarcely could ever think to see one. Upon which I flung down my Angle and went to meet him. The first place the Book opened in after I took it in my hand, was the Sixteenth Chapter of the Acts, and the first place my eye pitched on, was the Thirtieth and one and Thirtieth Verses, where the Jailor asked S. Paul, What must I do to be saved? And he answered saying, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved and thine house.

Struck into a great Passion at the sight of the Book.

The sight of this Book so rejoiced me, and affrighted me together, that I cannot say, which Passion was greater, the joy, for that I had got sight of a Bible, or the fear, that I had not enough to buy it, having then but one Pagoda in the World, which I willingly would have given for it, had it not been for my Boy, who dissuaded me from giving so much, alledging my Necessity for Money many other ways, and undertaking to procure the Book for a far meaner price, provided I would seem to slight it in the sight of the old Man. This counsel after I considered I approved of, my urgent Necessities earnestly craving, and my Ability being but very small to relieve the same: and however, I thought, I could give my piece of Gold at the last cast, if other means should fail.

I hope the Readers will excuse me, that I hold them so long upon this single passage, For it did so affect me then, that I cannot lightly pass it over as often as I think of it, or have occasion to mention it.

The sight indeed of this Bible so overjoyed me, as if

an Angel had spoke to me from Heaven. To see that my most gracious God had prepared such an extraordinary Blessing for me; which I did, and ever shall look upon as miraculous, to bring unto me a Bible in my own Native Language, and that in such a remote part of the World, where his Name was not so much as known, and where any English Man was never known to have been before. I looked upon it, as somewhat of the same nature with the Ten Commandments he had given the Israelites out of Heaven; it being the thing for want whereof I had so often mourned, nay and shed tears too; and than the enjoyment whereof there could be no greater joy in the world to me.

He casts with himself how to get it.

Upon the sight of it I left off Fishing, God having brought a Fish to me, that my Soul had longed for; and now how to get it and enjoy the same, all the Powers of my Soul were employed. I gave God hearty thanks that [p. 128.] he had brought it so near me, and most earnestly prayed that he would bestow it on me. Now, it being well towards Evening, and not having wherewithal to buy it about me, I departed home, telling the old Man, that in the Morning I would send my Boy to buy it of him.

All that Night I could take no rest for thinking on it, fearing lest I might be disappointed of it. In the Morning as soon as it was day, I sent the Boy with a knit Cap he had made for me to buy the Book, praying in my heart for good success, which it pleased God to grant: For that Cap purchased it, and the Boy brought it to me to my great joy, which did not a little comfort me over all my Afflictions.

Where the rest of the English were bestowed.

Having said all this concerning my Father and my Self, it will be time now to think of the rest of our poor Countreymen, and to see what is become of them. They were carried into the County of Hotteracourly, Westward from the City of Cande, and placed singly according to the King's Order aforesaid, some four, some six Miles distant one from the other. It was the King's Command concerning them that the People should give them Victuals,

and look after them. So they carried each man from house to house to eat, as their turns came to give them Victuals, and where they Supped there they Lodged that Night. Their Bedding was only a Mat upon the Ground.

Kept from one another a good while, but after permitted to see each other.

They knew not they were so near to one another a great while; till at length Almighty God was pleased by their grief and heaviness to move those Heathen to Pity and take Compassion on them: So that they did bring some of them to one another. Which joy was but Abortive, for no sooner did they begin to feel the Comfort of one anothers Company, but immediately their Keepers called upon them to go from whence they came: fearing they might consult and run away, altho Columbo the nearest Port they could fly to was above two days Journey from them. But as it is with wild Beasts beginning to grow tame, their Liberty encreaseth: So it happened to our Men; so that at length they might go and see one another at their pleasures, and were less and less watched and regarded. And seeing they did not attempt to run away, they made no matter of it, if they stayed two or three days one with the other.

No manner of work laid upon them.

They all wondered much to see themselves in this Condition, to be kept only to eat, and the People of the Countrey giving it unto them, daily expecting when they would put them to work, which they never did, nor dared to do. For the King's order was to feed them well only, and to look after them until he pleased to send for them. This after some time made them to change their minds, and not to think themselves Slaves any more, but the Inhabitants of the Land to be their Servants, in that they laboured to sustain them.

Which made them to begin to Domineer, and would not be content unless they had such Victuals as pleased them, and oftentimes used to throw the Pots, Victuals and all at their heads that brought them, which they patiently would bear.

They begin to pluck up their hearts.

And as they lived here longer, they knew better what Privileges they had in belonging unto the King, and being

maintained by virtue of his Command. And their Privileges they made use of to purpose, as I shall relate an instance or two by and by; and shewed their English Metal.

Victuals was the only thing allowed them, but no Cloths. By this time the Cloths they had were almost worn out. This put them to a study what course to take to procure more, when those on their backs were gone. The readiest way that they could devise was this, that whereas they used to take their Victuals brought to them ready dressed, they should now take them raw; and so to pinch somewhat out of their Bellies, to save to buy Cloths for their Backs. And so accordingly they concluded to do: and by the favour that God gave them in the sight of the People, by alledging the Innocency of their Cause, and the Extremity of their present Condition, having not the least ability to help or relieve themselves, they consented to give them two Measures of Rice a day each man. One of which is as much as any man can eat in a day, so that the other was to serve for advance towards Cloths. For besides Rice, they gave them to eat with it Salt, Pepper, Limes, Herbs, Pumpkins, Coker-Nuts, Flesh a little. These and such like things were their constant fare. [p. 129.] *What course they took for Cloths.* *Their fare.*

And thus they made a shift to live for some years, until some of them had an insight in knitting Caps, by whom all afterwards learned, and it proved to be the chief means and help we all had to relieve our wants. The ordinary price we sold these Caps for, was Nine pence a piece in value English Money, the Thread standing us in about three pence. But at length, we plying hard our new Learned Trade, Caps began to abound, and Trading grew dead, so that we could not sell them at the former price: which brought several of our Nation to great want. *What Employment they afterwards followed.*

The English began now to pluck up their hearts, and tho they were entred into a new Condition, they kept their old Spirits, especially considering they were the King's Men, and quartered by his special order upon the People. When they had obtained to have their Allowance raw, if *How the English Domineered.*

any brought them not their full due, they would go in and Plunder their Houses of such Goods as they found there, and keep them until they came and brought them their compleat allowance to redeem their Goods back again.

What Satisfaction one of them received from a Potter.

Some of our English men have proceeded further yet. One for example went to buy Pots of a Potter. Who because he would not let him have them at his own price fell to quarrel, in which the English man met with some blows. Which he complained of to the Magistrate, as being a Person that belonged unto the King, and therefore claimed better usage. And the Magistrate condemned the Potter as guilty in lifting up his hand against him, and sent some of his Soldiers to bind him, and then bad the English man go and content himself by paying him in the same Coin again, as he had served our Countreyman; which he did until he was satisfied, and moreover, ordered him to take the Pots he came to buy and pay nothing. But the Law was not so satisfied neither, for the Soldiers laid on many blows besides.

A scuffle between the English and Natives.

Another time at a certain Feast, as they were drinking and wanting Wine, they sent Money to buy more; but the Seller refused to give it them for their Money. Which they took so hainously, that they unanimously concluded to go and take it by force. Away they went each man with his Staff in his hand, and entred the House and began to Drink; which the People not liking of, gathered their [p. 130.] Forces together, and by blows began to resist them. But the English men bravely behaved themselves, and broke several of their Pates. Who with the Blood about their Ears went to the City to complain to the great Men. They demanded of them, If they had ever sold them Wine before. They answered, Yes. They asked them again, Why then did they refuse to sell them now? And that they were well served by the English for denying them drink for their Money: and so sent them away laughing at them. Our Men got two or three black and blew Blows, but they came home with their Bellies full of Drink for their pains.

A.D. 1661-64.

The Author after a year sees his Countreymen.

But to return unto my self. It was a full year after my Father died, before I had sight of any of my Countreymen and Fellow Prisoners. Then John Gregory with much ado obtained leave to come and see me: which did exceedingly rejoyce me. For a great Satisfaction it was, both to see a Countreyman, and also to hear of the welfare of the rest. But he could not be permitted to stay with me above one day. Until then, I knew not punctually where the rest of my Countreymen were, but having heard that they were within a days Journey of me, I never ceased importuning the People of the Town where I dwelt, to let me go and see them. Which tho very loath, yet at last they granted. Being arrived at the nearest English man's House, I was joyfully received, and the next day he went and called some of the rest of our Countreymen that were near. So that there were some seven or eight of us met together.

Their Conference and Entertainment.

We gave God thanks for his great Mercies towards us, being then, as we did confess, in a far better Condition than we could have expected. They were now no more like the Prisoners I left them, but were become Housekeepers, and Knitters of Caps, and had changed their Habit from Breeches to Clouts like the Chingulays. They entertained me with very good chear in their Houses beyond what I did expect.

He consults with his Countreymen for a future livelyhood.

My Money at the same time almost gone, and Cloaths in the same condition, it was high time for me now to take some course in hand to get more. Therefore I took some advice with them about Knitting, my Boy having Skill therein. Likewise they advised me to take my Victuals raw, wherein they found great Profit. For all this while here being no signs of releasing us, it concerned me now to bethink my self how I should live for the future. For neither had I, any more than my Countreymen, any allowance for Cloths, but Victuals only.

Having stayed here some two or three days, we did take leave of one another, hoping to see one another oftner,

since now we knew each others Habitations: and I departed to my House, having a Keeper with me.

The difficulty he met with of having raw Rice.

By this time I began to speak the Language of the Countrey. Whereby I was inabled the better to speak my mind unto the People that brought me my Victuals. Which was henceforward not to boil my Rice, but to bring it raw according to the quantity that the other English men had. This occasioned a great deal of disputing and reasoning between us. They alledged, That I was not as they, being the Captain's Son, and they but his Servants, [p. 131.] and therefore that it was ordered by the great Men at Court, that my Victuals should be daily brought unto me, whereas they went always from house to house for theirs: Neither was it fitting for me, they said, to imploy my self in such an Inferior Office as to dress my own Meat, being a Man that the King had notice of by Name, and very suddenly before I should be aware of it, would send for me into his Presence, where I should be highly promoted to some Place of Honour. In the mean time, they told me, as pretending to give me good counsel, That it was more for my credit and repute to have my Provisions brought unto me ready Dressed as they were before.

He reasons with the People about his allowance.

Altho I was yet but a Novice in the Countrey, and knew not much of the People, yet plain reason told me, that it was not so much for my good and credit that they pleaded, as for their own benefit. Wherefore I returned them this answer, That if as they said I was greater in quality than the rest, and so held in their Estimation, it would be but reason to demand a greater allowance, whereas I desired no more than the other English men had. And as for the toyl and trouble in dressing of it, that would be none to me, for my Boy had nothing else to do. And then I alledged several inconveniencies in bringing my Victuals ready boiled; as first, that it was not dressed according to my Diet; and many times not brought in due Season, so that I could not eat when I was an hungry. And the last and chief reason of all was, that I might save a little to serve my Necessity of Clothing: and rather than want

Cloths for my Back, I must pinch a little out of my Belly, and so both go share and share like. And so at length, thanks be to God, I obtained, tho with much ado, to get two Measures of Rice per day for my self, and one for my Boy; also Coker-nuts, Pumpkins, Herbs, Limes, and such like enough, besides Pepper and Salt; and sometimes Hens, Eggs, or Flesh: Rice being the main thing they stand upon, for other things they refuse not to give what they have.

He builds him an House.

Now having settled all Business about my allowance, my next concern was to look after an House more convenient, for my present one was too small to dress my Victuals in, and to sleep in too. Thereabouts was a Garden of Coker-nut Trees, belonging unto the King, a pleasant situation; this place I made choice of to build me a House in. And discovering my desire to the People, they consented, and came and built it for me: but before it was finished, their occasions called them away, but my Boy and I made an end of it, and whitened the Walls with Lime, according to my own Countrey fashion. But in doing this I committed a Capital Offence: for none may white their Houses with Lime, that being peculiar to Royal Houses and Temples. But being a Stranger nothing was made of it, because I did it in ignorance: had it been a Native that had so done, it is most probable it would have cost him his Head, or at the least a great Fine.

He follows business and thrives.

Being settled in my new House, I began to keep Hogs and Hens; which by God's Blessing thrived very well with me, and were a great help unto me. I had also a great benefit by living in this Garden. For all the Coker-nuts that fell down they gave me, which afforded me Oyl to burn in the Lamp, and also to fry my meat in. Which Oyl being new is but little inferior to this Countrey Butter. Now I learned to knit Caps, which Skill I quickly attained unto, and by God's Blessing upon the same, I obtained great help and relief thereby.

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Some attempted running away, but were catched.

In this manner we all lived, seeing but very little sign that we might build upon, to look for Liberty. The chief

of our hopes of it was, that in process of time when we were better acquainted, we might run away. Which some of our People attempted to do too soon, before they knew well which way to go, and were taken by the Inhabitants. For it is the custom of the Chingulays to suspect all white People, they meet travailing in the Countrey, to be Runaways; and to examine them: and if they cannot give satisfactory answers, they will lay hold of them and carry them back unto the City. Where they will keep them Prisoners under a guard of Soldiers in an open House like a Barn with a little Victuals sometimes, and sometimes with none at all. Where they have no other remedy to help themselves but Begging. And in this Condition they may lye perhaps for their Lifetime, being so kept for a Spectacle unto the People.

Little incouragement for those that bring back Runnaways.

Tho the common way whereby the King gratifies such as catch Runawayes and bring them up, is not over acceptable. For they are appointed to feed and watch them until he calls for them to be brought before him. At which time his promise is bountifully to reward them. But these Promises I never knew performed. Neither doth he perhaps ever think of it after. For when the King is made acquainted with the matter, the men that have brought up the Prisoner are in a manner as bad Prisoners themselves, not daring to go home to their Houses without his leave, but there they must remain. After some years stay, the common manner is, for them to give a Fee unto the Governor of the Countrey, and he will licence them to go home, which they must be contented with instead of the promised reward.

Chap. IV.

Concerning some other English men detained in that Countrey.

IN the same Captivity with our selves on this Island, was another Company of English Men, who were taken about a year and an half before us, viz. in the year MDCLVIII. They were Thirteen in number, whose names were as follow, Viz. Mr. William Vassal, John Merginson, Thomas March, Thomas Kirby, Richard Jelf, Gamaliel Gardiner, William Day, Thomas Stapleton, Henry Man, Hugh Smart, Daniel Holstein an Hamburger, James Gony, and Henry Bingham. The occasion of their Seizure was thus. The Ship these Men belonged unto was the Persia Merchant, Capt. Francis Johnson Commander, which was lost upon the Maldives Islands. But they escaped in their Boats, and passing along by this Land went on shore to recruit and buy Provisions, and so were taken. The Chingulays that took them Plundered them of what they had, except their Cloths. Yet one of them, John Merginson by name, having cunningly hid his Money about him, saved it from the Heathen, but from his own Countrymen he could not, some of whom knowing of it set upon him and robbed him of it. But it did them little good, for the King hearing of it sent and robbed the Robbers.

The Persia Merchant's men Captives before us.

Plundred by the Natives.

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These men thus seized were carried up before the King. Of whom he demanded, whether the English had Wars with the Hollanders. They answered, No. Or, if the English could beat them. They answered, They could and had done it lately. Then he gave order to give them all some Cloths, and to Mr. William Vassal, being the chief of them, a double Portion. And out of them made choice of two Lads; whom afterwards he sent and took into his

Brought up to the King.

Court. Their honours and their ends we shall see by and by. They were all placed in the City of Cande, and each of them had a new Mat given them to sleep on, and their Diet was Victuals dressed and brought them twice a day from the King's own Palace. They had Cloths also distributed to them another time.

So that these men had the advantage of us. For we neither had Mats nor Cloths, nor had the honour of being ever brought into the King's Presence.

They hoped to obtain Liberty, but were mistaken.

This civil Reception upon their first coming up into the City, put these Persia Merchant-men in hope, that the King would give them their Liberty. There was at that time an old Portugueze Father, Padre Vergonse by name, living in the City. With him they discoursed concerning the probability of their Liberty, and that the favours the King had shewn them seemed to be good signs of it: but he told them the plain truth, that it was not customary there to release white Men. For saying which, they railed at him, calling him Popish Dog, and Jesuitical Rogue, supposing he spoke as he wished it might be. But afterward to their grief they found it to be true as he told them.

A ridiculous action of these Men.

Their entertainment was excellently good according to the poor condition of the Countrey, but they thought it otherwise, very mean and not according to the King's order. Therefore that the King might be informed how they were abused, each man took the Limb of an Hen in his hand, and marched rank and file in order thro the Streets with it in their hands to the Court, as a sign to the great Men, whereby they might see, how illy they were served; thinking hereby the King might come to hear of their misusage, and so they might have order to be fed better afterwards. But this proved Sport to the Noblemen who well knew the fare of the Countrey, laughing at their ignorance, to complain where they had so little cause. And indeed afterwards they themselves laughed at this action of theirs, and were half ashamed of it, when they came to a better understanding of the Nature of the Countreys Diet.

Yet notwithstanding being not used to such short Commons of Flesh, tho they had Rice in abundance, and having no Money to buy more, they had a desire to kill some Cows, that they might eat their Bellies full of Beef, but made it somewhat a point of Conscience, whether it might be lawful or not, to take them without leave. Upon which they apply themselves to the old Father abovesaid, desiring him to solve this Case of Conscience. Who was very ready to give them a Dispensation. And told them, That forasmuch as the Chingulayes were their Enemies and had taken their Bodies, it was very lawful for them to satisfie their Bodies with their Goods. And the better to animate them in this design, bid them bring him a piece, that he might partake with them. So being encouraged by the old Father, they went on boldly in their intended Business.

They had a mind to Beef, and how they got it.

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Now if you would have an account of the Metal and Manfulness of these men, as you have already had a tast of ours, take this passage. The Jack Fruit the Kings Officers often gather wheresoever it grows, and give to the Kings Elephants, and they may gather it in any mans grounds without the Owners leave, being for the Kings use. Now these English men were appointed to dwell in an house, that formerly belonged unto a Noble man, whom the King had cut off, and seized upon it. In the ground belonging to this House stood a Jack Tree full of Fruit. Some of the Kings men came thither to gather some of them to feed the Elephants. But altho the English had free liberty to gather what they could eat or desire, yet they would permit none but themselves to meddle with them, but took the Officers by the shoulders and turned them out of the Garden, altho there were more a great many than they could tell what to do with. The Great men were so Civil, that notwithstanding this Affront, they laid no Punishment upon them. But the Event of this was, that a few days after they were removed from this house to another, where was a Garden but no Trees in it. And because they would not allow the King a few, they lost all themselves.

A Passage of the Courage of the Men.

Two of his Company taken into Court.

I mentioned before two Lads of this Company, whom the King chose out for his own service, their Names were Hugh Smart and Henry Man. These being taken into his Court, obtained great Favour and Honour from him, as to be always in his presence, and very often he would kindly and familiarly talk with them concerning their Country, what it afforded; and of their King and his Strength for War. Thus they lived in his Favour for some time.

The one out of Favour, his end.

Till at length Hugh Smart, having a desire to hear news concerning England, privatly got to the Speech of a Dutch Embassadour. Of which the King had notice, but would not believe it, supposing the information was given him out of Envy to his Favorite, but commanded privately to watch him, and if he went again, to catch him there. Which he not being aware of, went again, and was catched. At which the King was very angry. For he allows none to come to the speech of Ambassodours, much less one that served in his presence, and heard and saw all that passed in Court. But yet the King dealt very favourably with him. For had it been a Chingulay, there is nothing more sure, than that he should have dyed for it. But this English mans Punishment was only to be sent away and kept a Prisoner in the Mountains without Chains, and ordered him to be well used there. Where indeed he lived better content than in the Kings Palace. He took a Wife here and had one Son by her, and afterwards dyed by a mischance, which was thus. As he was gathering a Jack from the Tree by a Crook, it fell down upon his side, and bruised him so that it killed him.

The other out of Favour, and lamentable Death.

Henry Man the other, yet remained in Favour, and was promoted to be Chief over all the Kings Servants that attended on him in his Palace. It happened one Day, that he broke one of the Kings China Dishes. Which made him so sore afraid, that he fled for Sanctuary into a Vehar, a Temple where the Chief Priests always dwel, and hold their consultations. This did not a little displease the King; this Act of his supposing him to be of Opinion

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that those Priests were able to secure him against the Kings displeasure. However he shewing Reverence to their Order would not violently fetch him from thence; but sent a kind Message to the English man, bidding him not to be afraid for so small a matter as a Dish (And it is probable had he not added this fault he might have escaped without Punishment) and that he should come and Act in his place as formerly. At which Message he came forth, and immediatly, as the King had given order, they took hold of him and bound his Arms above the Elbows behind, which is their fashion of binding men. In which manner he lay all that Night, being bound so hard that his Arms swelled, and the Ropes cut throw the Flesh into the Bones. The next day the King Commanded a Noble-man to loose the Ropes off his Arms, and put Chains on his Legs, and keep him in his House, and there feed him and cure him.

Thus he lay some Six Months, and was cured, but had no Strength in his Armes, and then was taken into his Office again, and had as much Favour from the King as before. Who seemed much to lament him for his folly, thus to procure his own ruine.

Not long after he again offended the King. Which as it is reported was thus. A Portugueze had been sent for to the City to be employed in the Kings Service; to which Service he had no Stomach at all, and was greatly afraid of, as he justly might be. For the avoiding therefore of it he sends a Letter to this English Courtier, wherein he entreated him to use his interest to excuse him to the King. The English man could not read the Letter being writ in the Portugueze Tongue, but gave it to another to read. Which when he knew the contents of thought it not safe for him to meddle in that business, and so concealed the Letter. The person to whom the English man had given it to read, some time after informed the King thereof. Whereupon both the Portugueze that sent the Letter, and the English man to whom it was sent, and the Third Person that read it, because he informed no sooner, were all three at one time and in one place torn in pieces by Elephants.

The King sends special order concerning their good usage.

After this Execution the King supposing that we might be either discontented in our selves, or discountenanced by the People of the Land, sent special order to all parts where we dwelt, that we should be of good cheer, and not be discouraged, neither abused by the Natives.

Thus jealous is the King of Letters, and allows none to come or go. We have seen how dear it cost poor Henry Man. Mr. William Vassal, another of the Persia-Merchant men, was therefore more wary of some Letters he had, and came off better.

Mr. Vassals prudence upon the receit of Letters.

This man had received several Letters, and it was known abroad that he had. Which he fearing lest the King should hear of, thought it most convenient and safe to go to the Court and present them himself; that so he might plead in his own Defence to the King. Which he did. He acknowledged to him that he had received Letters, and that they came to his hands a pretty while ago: but withall pretended excuses and reasons to clear himself. As first, that when he received them, he knew not that it was against the Law and manner of the Countrey; and when he did know, he took Council of a Portugueze Priest, (who was now dead) being old, and as he thought well experienced in the Countrey. But he advised him to defer a while the carrying them unto the King until a more convenient season. After this he did attempt, he said, to bring them unto the King, but could not be permitted to have entrance thro the Watches: so that until now, he could not have opportunity to present them.

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The King bids him read his Letters.

The King at the hearing hereof, seemed not to be displeased in the least, but bid him read them. Which he did in the English Language, as they were writ; and the King sat very attentive as if he had understood every word. After they were read, the King gave Vassal a Letter he had intercepted, sent to us from Sir Edward Winter, then Agent at Fort St. George; and asked the News and Contents thereof. Which Mr. Vassal informed him at large of. It was concerning the Victory we had gained over the Dutch when Obdam Admiral of Holland was slain,

and concerning the number of our Ships in that Fight, being there specified to be an Hundred and Fifty Sail. The King inquired much after the number of Guns and Men they carried. The number of Men he computed to be one Ship with another about Three Hundred per Ship. At that rate, the King demanded of him, how many that was in all. Which Mr. Vassal went about to cast up in the Sand with his finger. But before he had made his Figures, the King had done it by Head, and bid him desist, saying it was 45000.

The King pleased to hear of Englands Victory over Holland.

This News of the Hollanders overthrow, and the English Victory much delighted the King: and he inquired into it very particularly. Then the King pretended he would send a Letter to the English Nation, and bad Mr. Vassal inform him of a Trusty Bearer. Which he was very forward to do, and named one of the best which he had made trial of. One of the Great men there present, objected against him, saying, he was insufficient, and asked him, if he knew no other. At which Vassal suspected their Design, which was to learn who had brought those Letters to him; and so framed his answer accordingly, which was that he knew no other.

Private discourse between the King and Vassal.

There was much other discourse passed between the King and him at this time in the Portugueze Tongue. Which what it was I could never get out of him, the King having commanded him to keep it secret. And he saith, he hath sworn to himself not to divulge it, till he is out of the Kings hands. At parting, the King told him, for Secrecy he would send him home privatly, or otherwise he would have dismist him with Drums and Honour. But after this the King never sent for him again. And the man, that he named as fit and able to carry the Kings Letter, was sent away Prisoner to be kept in Chains in the Countrey. It is supposed, that they concluded him to have been the man that brought Vassal his Letters. And thus much of the Captivity and Condition of the Persia-Merchant men.

[Chap. V.

[p. 137.]

Chap. V.

Concerning the means that were used for our Deliverance. And what happened to us in the Rebellion. And how we were setled afterwards.

Means made to the King for our Liberty.

All of us in this manner remained until the year MDCLXIV. At which time arrived a Letter on our behalf to the King from the Right Worshipful Sir Edward Winter, Governour of Fort St. George, and Agent there. The Dutch Embassadour also at that time by a Commission from the Governour of Columba treated with the King for us. With Sir Edward's Message the King was much pleased, and with the Dutch's mediation so prevailed with, that he promised he would send us away.

Upon which they all met at the City.

Upon this he commanded us all to be brought to the City. Whither when we came, we were very joyful not only upon the hopes of our Liberty, but also upon the sight of one another. For several of us had not seen the others since we were first parted. Here also we met with the Persia Merchant men, whom until this time we had not seen. So that we were nine and twenty English in all.

Word sent them from the Court, that they had their Liberty.

Some few days after our Arrival at the City, we were all called to the Court. At which time standing all of us in one of the Palace Court-yards, the Nobles by command from the King came forth and told us, that it was his Majesties Pleasure to grant unto us our Liberty, and to send us home to our Countrey, and that we should not any more look upon our selves as Prisoners or detained men. At which we bowed our heads and thanked his Majesty. They told us moreover, that the King was intended to send us either with the Dutch Embassadour, or by the Boat which Sir Edward Winter had sent; and that it was his Majesties good will to grant us our choice. We humbly referred it to his Majesties pleasure. They answered, his

Majesty could and would do his pleasure, but his will was to know our minds. After a short consultation we answered, since it was his Majesties pleasure to grant us our choice, with many Thanks and Obeisance we chose to go with the Dutch Embassadour, fearing the Boats insufficiency, she having, as we were well sensible, laid there a great while: and if we had chosen the Boat, the danger of going that way might have served them for a Put off to us, and a Plea to detain us still, out of care of us. And again, had we refused the Embassadours kindness at this time, for the future, if these things succeeded not with us now, we could never have expected any more aid or friendship from that Nation.

All in general refuse the King's service.

In the next place they told us. It was the Kings pleasure to let us understand, that all those that were willing to stay and serve his Majesty, should have very great rewards, as Towns, Monies, Slaves and places of Honour conferred upon them. Which all in general refused.

Then we were bidden to absent, while they returned our answers to the King. By and by there came Order to call us in one at a time, where the former promises were repeated to every one of us of great Favours, Honours and Rewards from the King to those that were willing to stay with him. And after each one had given his answer, he was sent into a corner in the Court, and then another called, and so all round one after another, they inquiring particularly concerning each mans trade and office; Handycrafts-men and Trumpetters being most desired by the King. We being thus particularly examined again, there was not one of us was tempted by the Kings rewards, but all in general refused the Kings honourable employment, choosing rather to go to our Native Countrey. By which we purchased the Kings Displeasure.

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Commanded still to wait at the Palace. During which a Rebellion breaks out.

After this they told us, we must wait at the Palace gate dayly, it being the Kings pleasure, that we should make our personal appearance before him. In this manner we waited many days. At length happened a thing which he least suspected, viz. a general Rebellion of his People

against him. Who assaulted his Palace in the Night: but their hearts failed them, daring not to enter into the Apartment where his Person was. For if they had had courage enough, they might have taken him there. For he stayed in his Palace until the Morning; and then fled into the Mountains, and escaped their hands, but more thro their cowardliness than his valour. This Rebellion I have related at large in the second Part, whither he that desires to know more of it may have recourse. Only I shall mention here a few things concerning our selves, who were gotten into the midst of these Broils and Combustions, being all of us now waiting upon the King in the City.

They are in the midst of it, and in great danger.

It was a great and marvellous mercy of Almighty God to bring us safe thro these dangers, for it so happened all along that we were in the very midst. Before they gave the Assault on the Kings Palace, they were consulting to lay hands on us, fearing lest we might be prejudicial to their Business, in joyning to the help and assistance of the King against them. For tho we were but few in comparison, yet the Name of White men was somewhat dreadful to them. Whereupon at first their Counsels were to cut us off. But others among them advised that it would be better to let us alone; For that we being ignorant of their Designs, as indeed we were, and at quiet in our several Lodgings, could not be provided to hurt or indanger them. But otherwise if they should lay hands on us, it would certainly come to the Kings Ears, and Allarm him, and then all would be frustrated and overthrown. This some of their own Party have related to us since. These Counsels were not given out of any secret good will any of them bore to us (as I believe) but proceeded from the over-ruling hand of God, who put those things into their hearts for our safety and preservation. The People of the City whence the King fled, ran away also leaving their Houses and Goods behind them. Where we found good Prey and Plunder; being permitted to Ransack the Houses of all such as were fled away with the King.

The Rebels take the English with them.

The Rebels having driven away the King, and marching

to the City of Cande to the Prince, carried us along with them; the Chief of their Party telling us that we should now be of good cheer; for what they had done upon very good advisement they had done, the Kings ill Government having given an occasion to it. Who went about to destroy both them & their Countrey; and particularly insisted upon such things as might be most plausible to Strangers, such as, keeping Embassadours, discouraging Trade, detaining of Forainers that come upon his Land, besides his cruelties towards themselves that were his natural People. All which they told us, They had been [p. 139.] informed was contrary to the Government of other Countries; and now so soon as their business was settled, they assured us, They would detain none that were minded to go to their own Countreys.

They design to ingage the English with them.

Being now at Cande, on Christmas-Day of all the days in the year, they sent, to call us to the Court, and gave us some Money and Cloths first, to make us the more willing to take Arms, which they intended then to deliver unto us, and to go with them upon a Design to fall upon the old King in the place whither he was fled. But in the very interim of time, God being merciful unto us, the Prince with his Aunt fled. Which so amazed and discouraged them, that the Money and Cloths which they were distributing to us and other Strangers to gain us over to them, they scattered about the Court and fled themselves. And now followed nothing but cutting one anothers Throats to make themselves appear the more Loyal Subjects, and make amends for their former Rebellion.

They resolve neither to meddle or make.

We for our parts little thinking in what danger we were, fell in to scramble among the rest to get what we could of the Monies that were strewed about, being then in great necessity and want. For the allowance which formerly we had was in this Disturbance lost, and so we remained without it for some three Months, the want of which, this Money did help to supply. Having gotten what we could at the Court, we made way to get out of the hurly burly to our Lodgings; intending as we were Strangers and

Prisoners, neither to meddle nor make on the one side or the other, being well satisfied, if God would but permit us quietly to sit, and eat such a Christmas Dinner together, as he had prepared for us.

The day being turned, they fear the King.

For our parts we had no other dealings with the Rebels, than to desire them to permit us to go to our Native Countrey, which Liberty they promised we should not want long. But being sent for by them to the Court, we durst not but go, and they giving us such things as we wanted, we could not refuse to take them. But the day being turned put us into great fear, doubting how the King would take it at our hands, from whom we knew this could not be hid.

But he justifies them.

Into our Houses we got safely. But no sooner were we there, but immediately we were called again by a great Man, who had drawn out his Men, and stood in the Field. This Man we thought had been one of the Rebels, who to secure himself upon this change, had intended to run away down to Columbo to the Dutch. Which made us repair to him the more cheerfully, leaving our Meat a roasting on the Spit. But it proved otherwise. For no sooner had he gotten us unto him, but he Proclaimed himself for the old King, and forthwith he and his Company taking us with him marched away to Fight or seize the Rebels, but meeting none went into the City, and there dismissed us, saying, He would acquaint the King, how willing and ready we were to fight for him, if need had required; altho, God knows, it was the least of our thoughts and intents, yet God brought it to pass for our good. For when the King was informed of what we had received of the Rebels, this piece of good Service that we had done, or rather supposed to have done, was also told unto him. At the hearing of which himself justified us to be innocent; saying, Since my absence, who was there that would give them Victuals? [p. 140.] And, It was mere want that made them to take what they did. Thus the words of the King's own mouth acquitted us. And when the Sword devoured on every side, yet by the Providence of God not one hair of our heads perished.

The Tumults being appeased, and the Rebellion vanished, the King was settled in his Throne again. And all this happened in five days time. We were now greatly necessitated for food, and wanted some fresh Orders from the King's mouth for our future subsistence. So that having no other remedy, we were fain to go and lay in the High way that leads to the City a begging; for the People would not let us go any nearer towards the King, as we would have done. There therefore we lay, that the King might come to the knowledge of us, and give Command for our allowance again. By which means we obtained our purpose. For having laid there some two Months, the King was pleased to appoint our Quarters in the Countrey as formerly, not mentioning a word of sending us away, as he had made us believe before the Rebellion.

They are driven to beg in the Highways.

Now we were all sent away indeed, but not into our own Countrey, but into new Quarters. Which being God would have to be no better, we were glad it was so well, being sore a weary of laying in this manner. For for some three Months time we had no manner of allowance. We were all now placed one in a Town as formerly, together with the Persia Merchant men also, who hitherto had lived in the City of Cande, and had their Provisions brought them out of the King's Palace ready dressed. These were now sent away with us into the Countrey. And as strict a charge was given for our good entertainment as before.

Sent into new quarters there, and their Pensions settled again.

We were thus dispersed about the Towns here one and there another, for the more convenient receiving our allowance, and for the greater ease of the People. And now we were far better to pass than heretofore, having the Language, and being acquainted with the Manners and Customs of the People, and had the same proportion of Victuals, and the like respect as formerly. And now they fall into employments as they please, either Husbandry or Merchandizing, or knitting Caps, being altogether free to do what they will themselves, and to go where they will, excepting running away: and for that end, we are not permitted to go down to the Sea, but we may travel all about

Fall to Trading, and have more freedom.

the Countrey, and no man regards us. For tho the People some of the first years of our Captivity, would scarcely let us go any whither, and had an eye upon us afterwards, yet in process of time all their Suspitions of our going away wore off; especially when several of the English had built them Houses, and others had taken them Wives, by whom they had Children, to the number of eighteen living when I came away.

Having said all this in general of the English People there, I will now continue a further account of my self.

[p. 141.]

Chap. VI.

A Continuation of the Author's particular Condition after the Rebellion. Purchaseth a piece of Land.

The Author at his new quarters builds him another House.

MY hap was to be quartered in a Countrey called Handapondown, lying to the Westward of the City of Cande. Which place liked me very well, being much nearer to the Sea than where I dwelt before, which gave me some probable hopes, that in time I might chance to make an escape. But in the mean time to free my self from the Suspition of the People, who watched me by Night, and by Day had an eye to all my actions, I went to work with the help of some of my Neighbors to Build me another House upon the Bank of a River, and intrenched it round with a Ditch, and Planted an Hedge: and so began to settle my self; and followed my business in Knitting and going about the Countries a Trading; seeming to be very well contented in this Condition.

The People counsel him to Marry.

Lying so long at the City without allowance, I had spent all to some Seven shillings, which served me for a stock to set up again in these new Quarters. And by the Blessing of my most gracious God, which never failed me in all my Undertakings, I soon came to be well furnished with what that Countrey afforded: insomuch that my Neigh-

bours and Townsmen no more suspected my running away; but earnestly advised me to marry, saying, It would be an ease and help to me, knowing that I then dressed my Victuals my self: having turned my Boy to seek his Fortune when we were at the City: They urged also, That it was not convenient for a young man as I was to live so solitarily alone in a house: and if it should so come to pass that the King should send me hereafter to my Countrey, their manner of Marriage, they said, was not like ours, and I might without any Offence discharge my Wife, and go away.

Which he seemed to listen to.

I seemed not altogether to slight their counsel, that they might the less suspect I had any thoughts of mine own Countrey, but told them, That as yet I was not sufficiently stocked, and also, That I would look for one that I could love: tho in my heart I never purposed any such matter; but on the contrary, did heartily abhor all thoughts tending that way.

Here he lived two years.

In this place I lived two years; and all that time could not get one likely occasion of running for it. For I thought it better to forbear running too great a hazard by being over-hasty to escape, than to deprive my self of all hopes for the future, when time and experience would be a great help to me.

A Fort built near him, but afterward taken by the King.

In the year MDCLXVI. the Hollanders came up and built a Fort just below me, there being but a ridge of Mountains between them and me. But tho so near, I could not come to them, a Watch being kept at every passage. The King sent down against them two great Commanders with their Armies, but being not strong enough to expel them, they lay in these Watches to stop them from coming up higher. The name of this Fort was called Arrandery. Which altho they could not prevent the Dutch from building at that time. Yet some years after [p. 142.] when they were not aware, they fell upon it and took it, and brought all the People of it up to Cande, where those that remained alive of them were, when I came from thence.

He and three more removed thence.

In this Countrey of Hotteracourly, where the Dutch had built this Fort, were four English men placed, whereof I was one. All whom the King immediately upon the News of the Dutche's Invasion, sent order to bring up out of the danger of the War into Conde Uda, fearing that which we were indeed intended to do, viz. to run away.

This Invasion happening so unexpectedly and our remove so sudden, I was forced to leave behind me that little Estate which God had given me, lying scattered abroad in Betel-nuts, the great Commodity of that Countrey, which I was then parting from: and much ado I had to get my Cloths brought along with me, the Enemies, as they called them, but my Friends being so near. And thus was I carried out of this Countrey as poor as I came into it, leaving all the fruits of my Labour and Industry behind me. Which called to my remembrance the words of Job. Naked came I into this world, and naked shall I return: God gave and God hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord.

Settled in a dismal place.

We all four were brought up together into a Town on the top of a Mountain called Laggendenny. Where I and my dear Friend and fellow Prisoner, and fellow Batchelor Mr. John Loveland lived together in one House. For by this time not many of our People were as we, that is, single men; but seeing so little hopes, despaired of their Liberty, and had taken Wives or Bedfellows.

At our first coming into this Town, we were very much dismayed, it being one of the most dismal places that I have seen upon that Land. It stands alone upon the top of a Mountain, and no other Town near it, and not above four or five Houses in it. And oftentimes into this Town did the King use to send such Malefactors as he was minded suddenly to cut off. Upon these accounts our being brought to this place could not but scare us, and the more, because it was the King's special Order and Command to place us in this very Town.

A comfortable Message from the King concerning us.

But this our trouble and dejection (thanks be to God) lasted but a day. For the King seemed to apprehend into

what a fit of Fear and Sorrow this our Remove would cast us, and to be sensible, how sadly we must needs take it to change a sweet and pleasant Countrey, such as Handapondown and the Countrey adjacent was, for this most sad and dismal Mountain. And therefore the next day came a comfortable Message from the King's own mouth, sent by no less Man than he, who had the chief Power and Command over those People who were appointed to give us our Victuals, where we were. This Message, which as he said himself, he was ordered by the King to deliver to the People in our hearing, was this, That they should not think that we were Malefactors, that is, such who having incurred the King's displeasure were sent to be kept Prisoners there, but men whom his Majesty did highly esteem, and meant to promote to great Honour in his Service, and that they should respect us as such, and entertain us accordingly. And if their ability would not reach thereunto, it was the King's Order, he said, to bid them sell their Cattel and Goods, and when that was done their Wives and Children, rather than we should want of our due allowance: which he ordered, should be as formerly we used to have: and if we had not Houses thatched, and [p. 143.] sufficient for us to dwell in, he said, We should change, and take theirs.

Placed there to punish the People for a Crime.

This kind Order from the King coming so suddenly, did not a little comfort and encourage us. For then we did perceive the King's purpose and intent in placing us in those remote Parts, was not to punish us, but them: that we might be his Instruments to Plague and take revenge of that People; who it seems had Plundred the King's Palace in the time of the late Rebellion, when he left it and fled; for this Town lies near unto the same: and their Office lying about the Court they had the fairer opportunity of Plundering it. For the Service they are to perform to the King, is to carry his Pallenkine when he pleaseth to ride therein, and also to bring Milk every Morning to the Court, being Keepers of the King's Cattel.

Weary of this place.

In this Town we remained some three years; by which

time we were grown quite weary of the place, and the place and People also grown weary of us, who were but troublesom Guests to them; for having such great Authority given us over them, we would not lose it; and being four of us in call one of another, we would not permit or suffer them to domineer over us. Being thus tired with one anothers Company, and the King's Order being of an old Date, we used all means we could to clear our selves of one another: often repairing unto the Court to seek to obtain a Licence that we might be removed and placed any where else. But there was none that durst grant it, because it was the King's peculiar Command, and special Appointment that we must abide in that very Town.

During the time of our stay here, we had our Victuals brought us in good order and due season: the Inhabitants having such a charge given them by their Governour and he from the King, durst not do otherwise. So that we had but little to do, only to dress and eat, and sit down to knit.

By a piece of Craft he gets down to his old Quarters.

I had used the utmost of my skill and endeavour to get a Licence to go down to my former Quarters, all things being now pretty well settled, hoping that I might recover some of my old Debts: but by no means could I obtain it. The denial of so reasonable a desire, put me upon taking leave. I was well acquainted with the way, but yet I hired a man to go with me, without which I could not get thro the Watches. For altho I was the Master and he the Man, yet when we came into the Watches, he was the Keeper and I the Prisoner. And by this means we passed without being suspected.

Being come into my old Quarters, by pretending that this man was sent down from the Magistrate to see that my Debts and Demands might be duely paid and discharged, I chanced to recover some of them, and the rest gave over for lost; for I never more looked after them. And so I began the world anew, and by the Blessing of God was again pretty well recruited before I left this Town.

Began the world anew the third time.

Plots to remove himself.

In the time of my residence here, I chanced to hear of a small piece of Land that was to be sold. About which

I made very diligent inquiry. For altho I was sore a weary of living in this Town, yet I could not get out of it, not having other new Quarters appointed me, unless I could provide a place for my self to remove to: which now God had put into my hand. As for the King's Command I dreaded it not much, having found by observation, that the King's Orders wear away by time, and the neglect of them comes at last to be unregarded. However I was resolved to put it to a hazard, come what will. [p. 144.]

Is incouraged to buy a piece of Land.

Altho I had been now some seven or eight years in this Land, and by this time came to know pretty well the Customs and Constitutions of the Nation, yet I would not trust my own knowledge, but to prevent the worst, I went to the Governor of that same Countrey where the Land lay, to desire his advice, whether or no I might lawfully buy that small piece of Land. He inquired, Whose and what Land it was, I informed him, That it had been formerly dedicated to a Priest, and he at his death had left it to his Grandson: who for want was forced to sell it. Understanding this, the Governor approved of the business, and encouraged me to buy it: saying, That such kind of Lands only were lawful here to be bought and sold; and that this was not in the least litigious.

The Situation and condition of it.

Having gotten both his consent and advice, I went on chearfully with my purchase. The place also liked me wondrous well; it being a point of Land, standing into a Corn Field, so that Corn Fields were on three sides of it, and just before my Door a little Corn ground belonging thereto, and very well watered. In the Ground besides eight Coker-nut Trees, there were all sorts of Fruit Trees the Countrey afforded. But it had been so long desolate, that it was all overgrown with Bushes, and no sign of a House therein.

Buys it.

The price of this Land was five and twenty Larees, that is five Dollars, a great Sum of Money in the account of this Countrey; yet thanks be to God, who had so far inabled me after my late and great loss, that I was strong enough to lay this down. The terms of Purchase being concluded

on between us, a Writing was made upon a leaf after that Countrey manner, witnessed by seven or eight Men of the best Quality in the Town: which was delivered to me, and I paid the Money, and then took Possession of the Land. It lyes some ten Miles to the Southward of the City of Cande in the County of Oudaneur, in the Town of Elledat.

Builds an House on it.

Now I went about Building an House upon my Land, and was assisted by three of my Countreymen that dwelt near by, Roger Gold, Ralph Knight, and Stephen Rutland, and in short time we finished it. The Countrey People were all well pleased to see us thus busie our selves about buying of Land and Building of Houses, thinking it would ty our Minds the faster to their Countrey, and make us think the less upon our own.

Leaves Laggendenny.

Tho I had built my new House, yet durst I not yet leave my old Quarters in Laggendenny, but wait until a more convenient time fell out for that purpose. I went away therefore to my old home, and left my aforesaid three English Neighbours to inhabit in it in my absence. Not long after I found a fit season to be gone to my Estate at Elledat. And upon my going, the rest left the Town also, and went and dwelt elsewhere, each one where he best liked. But by this means we all lost a Privilege which we had before: which was that our Victuals were brought unto us, and now we were forced to go and fetch them our selves; the People alledging (true enough) that they were not bound to carry our Provisions about the Countrey after us.

[p. 145.] *Setled at his new purchase, with three more living with him.*

Being settled in my new House, I began to plant my ground full of all sorts of Fruit Trees; and by the Blessing of God all grew and prospered, and yielded me great Plenty, and good increase, sufficient both for me, and for those that dwelt with me. For the three English men I left at my House when I departed back to Laggendenny, still lived with me. We were all single men; and we agreed very well together, and were helpful to one another. And for their help and assistance of me, I freely granted them Liberty to use and enjoy whatsoever the ground afforded, as much as my self. And with a joynt consent it was

concluded amongst us, That only single Men and Batchellors should dwell there, and such as would not be conformable to this present agreement, should depart and absent himself from our Society, and also forfeit his right and claim to the forementioned Privilege, that is, to be cut off from all benefit of whatsoever the Trees and Ground afforded.

I thought fit to make such a Covenant, to exclude women from coming in among us, to prevent all strife and dissention, and to make all possible Provision for the keeping up love and quietness among our selves.

In this manner we four lived together some two years very lovingly and contentedly, not an ill word passing between us. We used to take turns in keeping at home, while the rest went forth about their Business. For our house stood alone and no Neighbour near it. Therefore we always left one within. The rest of the English men lived round about us, some four or five miles distant, some more. So that we were, as it were, within reach one of another; which made us like our present Situation the more.

Their freedom and Trade.

Thus we lived upon the Mountains, being round about us beset with watches, most of our People being now married: so that now all talk and suspition of our running away was laid aside. Neither indeed was it scarce possible. The effect of which was, that now we could walk from one to the other, or where we would upon the Mountains, no man molesting or disturbing us in the least. So that we began to go about a Pedling, and Trading in the Country farther towards the Northward, carrying our Caps about to sell.

His Family reduced to two.

By this time two of our Company seeing but little hopes of Liberty, thought it too hard a task thus to lead a single life, and married. Which when they had done according to the former agreement departed from us. So that our Company was now reduced to two, viz. my Self and Stephen Rutland; whose inclination and resolution was as stedfast as mine against Marriage. And we parted not to the last, but came away together. [Chap. VII.

[p. 146.]

Chap. VII.

A return to the rest of the English, with some further accounts of them. And some further discourse of the Authors course of life.

Confer together about the lawfulness of Marrying with the Native Women.

LEt us now make a Visit to the rest of our Country-men, and see how they do. They reckoning themselves in for their Lives, in order to their future settlement, were generally disposed to Marry. Concerning which we have had many and sundry disputes among our selves; as particularly concerning the lawfulness of matching with Heathens and Idolaters, and whether the Chingulays Marriages were any better than living in Whoredome: there being no Christian Priests to join them together, and it being allowed by their Laws to change their Wives and take others as often as they pleased. But these cases we solved for our own advantage after this manner, That we were but Flesh and Blood, and that it is said, It is better to Marry than to burn, and that as far as we could see, we were cut off from all Marriages any where else, even for our Life time, and therefore that we must marry with these or with none at all. And when the People in Scripture were forbidden to take Wives of Strangers, it was then when they might intermarry with their own People, and so no necessity lay upon them. And that when they could not, there are examples in the Old Testament upon Record, that they took Wives of the Daughters of the Lands, wherein they dwelt. These reasons being urged, there was none among us, that could object ought against them, especially if those that were minded to marry Women here, did take them for their Wives during their lives, as some of them say, they do: and most of the Women they marry are such as do profess themselves to be Christians.

He resolves upon a single life.

As for mine own part, however lawful these Marriages might be, yet I judged it far more convenient for me to

abstain, and that it more redounded to my good, having always a reviving hope in me, that my God had not forsaken me, but according to his gracious promise to the Jews in the xxx Chapter of Deuteronomy, and the beginning, would turn my Captivity and bring me into the Land of my Fathers. These and such like meditations, together with my Prayers to God, kept me from that unequal Yoke of Unbeleivers, which several of my Countrey men and fellow Prisoners put themselves under.

What employments they follow.

By this time our People having plyed their Business hard, had almost knit themselves out of work; and now Caps were become a very dead Commodity, which was the chief stay they had heretofore to trust to. So that now most of them betook themselves to other employments; some to Husbandry, Plowing Ground, and sowing Rice, and keeping Cattle, others stilled Rack to sell, others went about the Countrey a Trading. For that which one part of the Land affords is a good Commodity to carry to another that wants it. And thus with the help of a little allowance, they make a shift to subsist. Most of their Wives spin Cotton yarn, which is a great help to them for cloathing, and at spare times also knit.

The respect and credit they live in.

After this manner by the blessing of God our Nation hath lived and still doth, in as good fashion as any other People or Nation whatsoever, that are Strangers here, or as any of the Natives themselves, only the Grandees and Courtiers excepted. This I speak to the Praise and Glory of our God; who loves the Stranger in giving him Food and Raiment; and that hath been pleased to give us Favour and a good Repute in the sight of our Enemies. We cannot complain for want of justice in any wrongs we have sustained by the People; or that our cause hath been discountenanced; but rather we have been favoured above the Natives themselves. [p. 147.]

A Chingulay punished for beating an English man.

One of our men happened to be beaten by his Neighbour. At which we were all very much concerned, taking it as a reproach to our Nation, and fearing it might embolden others to do the like by the rest of us. Therefore with

joint consent we all concluded to go to the Court to complain, and to desire satisfaction from the Adigar. Which we did. Upon this the man who had beat the English man was summoned in to appear before him. Who seeing so many of us there, and fearing the cause will go very hard with him, to make the Judg his friend, gave him a bribe. He having received it would have shifted off the Punishment of the Malefactor. But we day after day followed him from house to Court, and from place to place, whereever he went, demanding Justice and Satisfaction for the wrong we received, shewing the black and blew blows upon the English mans shoulders to all the rest of the Noble men at Court. He fearing therefore lest the King might be made acquainted herewith was forced tho much against his will to clap the Chingulay in Chains. In which condition after he got him, he released him not till besides the former fee he had given him another.

An English man preferred at Court.

Lately was Richard Varnham taken into the Kings service, and held as Honourable an employment as ever any Christian had in my time, being Commander of Nine Hundred and Seventy Soldiers, and set over all the great Guns, and besides this, several Towns were under him. A place of no less Profit than Honour. The King gave him an excellent Silver Sword and Halberd, the like to which the King never gave to any White man in my time. But he had the good luck to die a natural Death. For had not that prevented, in all probability he should have followed the two English men that served him, spoken of before.

The English serve the King in his Wars.

Some years since some of our Nation took up Arms under the King. Which happened upon this occasion. The Hollanders had a small Fort in the Kings Countrey, called Bibligom Fort. This the King minded to take and demolish, sent his Army to beseige it. But being pretty strong; for there were about Ninety Dutch men in it, besides a good number of Black Soldiers, and four Guns on each point one, being in this condition it held out. Some of the great men informed the King of several Dutch

runnaways in his Land, that might be trusted, not daring to turn again for fear of the Gallows, who might help to reduce the Fort. And that also there were white men of other Nations that had Wives and Children, from whom they would not run: and these might do him good service. Unto this advice the King inclined.

Whereupon the King made a Declaration to invite the forrain Nations into his Service against Bibligom Fort, that he would compel none, but such as were willing of their own free accord, the King would take it kindly, and they should be well rewarded. Now there entred into the [p. 148.] Kings Service upon this Expedition some of all Nations; both Portugueze, Dutch and English, about the number of Thirty. To all that took Arms he gave to the value of Twenty shillings in money, and three pieces of Callico for Cloaths, and commanded them to wear Breeches, Hats and Doublets, a great honour there. The King intended a Dutch-man, who had been an old Servant to him, to be Captain over them all. But the Portugueze not caring to be under the Command of a Dutch-man, desired a Captain of their own Nation, which the King granted, studying to please them at this time. But the English being but six, were too few to have a Captain over them, and so were forced some to serve under the Dutch, and some under the Portugueze Captain. There were no more of the English, because being left at their liberty they thought it safest to dwell at home, and cared not much to take Arms under a Heathen against Christians.

Who now live miserably.

They were all ready to go, their Arms and Ammunition ready with Guns prepared to send down, but before they went, Tydings came that the Fort yeilded at the Kings Mercy. After this the Whites thought they had got an advantage of the King in having these gifts for nothing, but the King did not intend to part with them so; but kept them to watch at his Gate. And now they are reduced to great Poverty and Necessity. For since the Kings first Gift they have never received any Pay or Allowance; tho they have often made their Addresses to

him to supply their wants, signifying their forwardness to serve him faithfully. He speaks them fair, and tells them he will consider them, but does not in the least regard them. Many of them since, after three or four years service, have been glad to get other Poor run away Dutch men to serve in their steads, giving them as much mony and cloths as they received of the King before; that so they might get free to come home to their Wives and Children.

The Dutch Captain would afterwards have forced the rest of the English to have come under him, and called them Traytors because they would not, and threatned them. But they scorned him, and bid him do his worst, but would never be persuaded to be Soldiers under him, saying, that it was not so much his zeal to the Kings service as his own Pride to make himself greater by having more men under him.

He returns to speak of himself. Plots and Consults about an Escape.

I will now turn to the Progress of my own Story. It was now about the year MDCLXXII. I related before, that my family was reduced to two, my self and one honest man more, we lived solitarily and contentedly being well setled in a good House of my own. Now we fell to breeding up Goats: we began with two, but by the blessing of God they soon came to a good many; and their Flesh served us instead of Mutton. We kept Hens and Hogs also: And seeing no sudden likelihood of Liberty, we went about to make all things handsome and convenient about us: which might be serviceable to us, while we lived there, and might farther our Liberty whensoever we should see an occasion to attempt it: which it did, in taking away all suspition from the People concerning us: who not having Wives as the others had, they might well think, lay the readier to take any advantage to make an escape. Which indeed we two did Plot and Consult about, between our selves with all imaginable Privacy, long before we got away: and therefore we laboured by all means to hide our designs; and to free them from so much as suspition.

We had now brought our House and Ground to such a perfection that few Noble mens Seats in the Land did excel us. On each side was a great Thorn-Gate for entrance, which is the manner in that Countrey: the Gates of the City are of the same. We built also another House in the Yard all open for Air, for our selves to sit in, or any Neighbours that came to talk with us. For seldome should we be alone, our Neighbours oftner frequenting our House than we desired; out of whom to be sure we could pick no Profit. For their coming is always either to beg or borrow. For altho we were Strangers and Prisoners in their Land, yet they would confess that Almighty God had dealt far more bountifully with us than with them, in that we had a far greater plenty of all things than they. [p. 149.] *A description of his House.*

I now began to set up a new Trade. For the Trade of Knitting was grown dead, and Husbandry I could not follow, not having a Wife to help and assist me therein, a great part of Husbandry properly belonging to the woman to manage. Whereupon I perceived a Trade in use among them, which was to lend out Corn. The benefit of which is fifty per cent. per annum. This I saw to be the easiest and most profitable way of Living, whereupon I took in hand to follow it: and what stock I had, I converted into Corn or Rice in the Husk. And now as customers came for Corn, I let them have it, to receive their next Harvest, when their own Corn was ripe, the same quantity I lent them, and half as much more. But as the Profit is great, so is the trouble of getting it in also. For he that useth this Trade must watch when the Debtors Field is ripe, and claim his due in time, otherwise other Creditors coming before will seize all upon the account of their Debts, and leave no Corn at all for those that came later. For these that come thus a borrowing, generally carry none of their Corn home when it is ripe, for their Creditors ease them of that Labour by coming into their Fields and taking it, and commonly they have not half enough to pay what they ow. So that they that *He takes up a new Trade and Thrives on it.*

miss getting their Debts this year must stay till the next when it will be double, two measures for one: but the Interest never runs up higher, tho the Debt lye seven years unpaid. By means hereof I was put to a great deal of trouble, and was forced to watch early and late to get my Debts, and many times miss of them after all my Pains. Howbeit when my Stock did encrease that I had dealings with many, I mattered not if I lost in some places, the profit of the rest was sufficient to bear that out.

And thus by the Blessing of God my little was encreased to a great deal. For he had blessed me so, that I was able to lend to my Enemies, and had no need to borrow of them. So that I might use the words of Jacob, not out of Pride of my self, but thankfulness to God, That he brought me hither with my Staff and blessed me so here, that I became two Bands.

His Allowance paid him out of the King's Store-houses.

For some years together after I removed to my own House from Laggendenny, the People from whence I came continued my allowance that I had when I lived among them. But now in plain Terms they told me they could give it me no more, and that I was better able to live without it than they to give it me. Which tho I knew to be true, yet I thought not fit to loose that Portion of Allowance, which the King was pleased to allot me. [p. 150.] Therefore I went to Court and appealed to the Adigar to whom such matters did belong. Who upon consideration of the Peoples poor condition, appointed me monthly to come to him at the Kings Palace for a Ticket to receive my Allowance out of the King's Store-houses.

Hereby I was brought into a great danger, out of which I had much ado to escape, and that with the loss of my Allowance for ever after. I shall relate the manner of it in the next Chapter.

Chap. VIII.

How the Author had like to have been received into the Kings Service, and what means he used to avoid it. He meditates and attempts an escape, but is often prevented.

He voluntarily forgoes his pension.

THis frequent Appearance at the Court, and waiting there for my Tickets, brought me to be taken notice of by the Great men: insomuch that they wondered I had been all this while forgotten, and never been brought before the King, being so fit, as they would suppose me, for his use and service, saying, That from henceforward I should fare better than that Allowance amounted to, as soon as the King was made acquainted with me. Which words of theirs served instead of a Ticket. Whereupon fearing I should suddainly be brought in to the King, which thing I most of all feared, and least desired, and hoping that out of sight might prove out of mind, I resolved to forsake the Court, and never more to ask for Tickets, especially seeing God had dealt so bountifully with me as to give me ability to live well enough without them. As when Israel had eaten of the Corn of the Land of Canaan, the Manna ceased; so when I was driven to forego my Allowance that had all this while sustained me in this wilderness, God otherways provided for me.

Summoned before the King.

From this time forward to the time of my Flight out of the Land, which was five years. I neither had nor demanded any more Allowance, and glad I was that I could escape so. But I must have more trouble first. For some four or five days after my last coming from Court, there came a Soldier to me, sent from the Adigar, with an Order in writing under his hand, that upon sight thereof I should immediatly dispatch and come to the Court to make my personal appearance before the King, and in case of any

delay, the Officers of the Countrey, were thereby Authorized and Commanded to assist the Bearer, and to see the same Order speedily performed.

The chief occasion of this had been a Person, not long before my near Neighbour and Acquaintance, Oua Matteral by name, who knew my manner of Life, and had often been at my House; but now was taken in and employed at Court; and he out of friendship and good will to me was one of the chief Actors in this business, that he might bring me to Preferment at Court.

He is informed that he is to be preferred at Court. [p. 151.]

Upon the abovesaid summons there was no Remedy, but to Court I must go. Where I first applyed my self to my said old Neighbour, Oua Motteral, who was the occasion of sending for me. I signified to him that I was come in obedience to the Warrant, and I desired to know the reason why I was sent for? To which he answered, Here is good news for you; you are to appear in the Kings Presence, where you will find great Favour, and Honourable entertainment, far more than any of your Countrey men yet have found. Which the great man thought would be a strong Inducement to persuade me joyfully to accept of the Kings Employments. But this was the thing I always most dreaded, and endeavoured to shun, knowing that being taken into Court would be a means to cut of all hopes of Liberty from me, which was the thing I esteemed equal unto life it self.

But resolves to refuse it.

Seeing my self brought unto this pass, wherein I had no earthly helper, I recommended my cause to God, desiring him in whose hands are the hearts of Kings and Princes to divert the business. And my cause being just and right I was resolved to persist in a denial. My case seemed to me to be like that of the four Lepers at the Gate of Samaria. No avoiding of Death for me. If out of Ambition and Honour, I should have embraced the Kings Service, besides the depriving my self of all hopes of Liberty, in the end I must be put to death, as happens to all that serve him; and to deny his service could be but Death. And it seemed to me to be the better Death of

the two. For if I should be put to Death only because I refused his service, I should be pitied as one that dyed innocently; but if I should be executed in his Service, however innocent I was, I should be certainly reckon'd a Rebel and a Traytor, as they all are whom he commands to be cut off.

The answer he makes to the Great man.

Upon these considerations having thus set my resolutions, as God enabled me, I returned him this answer: First, That the English Nation to whom I belonged had never done any violence or wrong to their King either in word or deed. Secondly, That the causes of my coming on their Land was not like to that of other Nations, who were either Enemies taken in War, or such as by reason of poverty or distress, were driven to sue for relief out of the Kings bountiful liberality, or such as fled for the fear of deserved punishment; Whereas, as they all well knew, I came not upon any of these causes, but upon account of Trade, and came ashore to receive the Kings Orders, which by notice we understood were come concerning us, and to render an account to the Dissauva of the Reasons and Occasions of our coming into the Kings Port. And that by the grief and sorrow I had undergone by being so long detained from my Native Countrey, (but, for which I thanked the Kings Majesty, without want of any thing) I scarcely enjoyed my self. For my heart was alwayes absent from my body. Hereunto adding my insufficiency and inability for such honourable Employment, being subject to many Infirmities and Diseases of Body.

To this he replied, Cannot you read and write English? Servile Labour the King requireth not of you. I answered, When I came ashore I was but young, and that which then I knew, now I had forgot for want of practice, having had neither ink nor paper ever since I came ashore. I urged moreover, That it was contrary to the Custome and Practice of all Kings and Princes upon the Earth to keep and detain men that came into their Countreys upon such peaceable accounts as we did; much less to compel them to serve them beyond their power and ability.

[p. 152.] *He is sent to another great Officer.*

At my first coming before him he looked very pleasingly, and spake with a smiling countenance to me: but now his smiles were turned into frowns, and his pleasing looks into bended brows, and in rough Language, he bad me be gone and tell my tale to the Adigar. Which immediatly I did; but he being busie did not much regard me, and I was glad of it, that I might absent the Court. But I durst not go out of the City. Sore afraid I was that evil would befall me, and the best I could expect was to be put in Chains. All my refuge was Prayer to God, whose hand was not shortned that it could not save, and would make all things work together for good to them that trust in him. From him only did I expect help and deliverance in this time of need.

He stays in the City expecting his Doom.

In this manner I lodged in an English mans house that dwelt in the City about ten days, maintaining my self at my own charge, waiting with a sorrowful heart, and daily expecting to hear my Doom. In the mean time my Countrey men and Acquaintance, some of them blamed me for refusing so fair a Profer; whereby I might not only have lived well my self, but also have been helpful unto my Poor Countrey-men and friends: others of them pitying me, expecting, as I did, nothing but a wrathful sentence from so cruel a Tyrant, if God did not prevent. And Richard Varnham, who was at this time a great man about the King, was not a little scared to see me run the hazard of what might ensue, rather than be Partaker with him in the felicities of the Court.

He goes home but is sent for again.

It being chargable thus to lye at the City, and hearing nothing more of my business, I took leave without asking, and went home to my House; which was but a Days distance, to get some Victuals to carry with me and to return again. But soon after I came home I was sent for again. So I took my load of Victuals with me, and arrived at the City, but went not to the Court, but to my former Lodging, where I staid as formerly, until I had spent all my Provisions: and by the good hand of my God upon me, I never heard any more of that matter. Neither came I any

more into the Presence of the Great-men at Court, but dwelt in my own Plantation, upon what God provided for me by my Labour and Industry.

Having escaped the Court service, falls to his former course of life.

For now I returned to my former course of life, dressing my Victuals daily with mine own hands, fetching both Wood and Water upon mine own back. And this, for ought I could see to the contrary, I was like to continue for my life time. This I could do for the Present, but I began to consider how helpless I should be, if it should please God I should live till I grew old and feeble. So I entred upon a Consultation with my self for the providing against this. One way was the getting of me a Wife, but that I was resolved never to do. Then I began to enquire for some poor body to live with me, to dress my Victuals for me, that I might live at a little more ease, but could not find any to my mind. Whereupon I considered, that there was no better way, than to take one of my poor Country-mens Children, whom I might bring up to learn both my own Language and Religion. And this might be not only Charity to the Child, but a kindness to my self also afterwards. And several there were that would be glad so to be eased of their charge, having more than they could well [p. 153.] maintain, a Child therefore I took, by whose aptness, ingenuity and company as I was much delighted at present, so afterwards I hoped to be served.

It was now about the year M DC LXXIII. Altho I had now lived many years in this Land, and God be praised, I wanted for nothing the Land afforded, yet could I not forget my native Countrey England, and lamented under the Famine of Gods Word and Sacraments, the want whereof I found greater than all earthly wants: and my dayly and fervent Prayers to God were, in his good time to restore me to the enjoyment of them.

Their pedling forwarded their escape.

I and my Companion were still meditating upon our escape and the means to compass it. Which our pedling about the Countrey did greatly forward and promote. For speaking well the Language and going with our Commodities from place to place, we used often to entertain

discourse with the Countrey people; viz. concerning the ways and the Countreys, and where there were most and fewest inhabitants, and where and how the Watches laid from one Countrey to another; and what Commodities were proper to carry from one part to the other, pretending we would from time to time go from one place to another, to furnish our selves with ware that the respective places afforded. None doubted but we had made these inquiries for the sake of our Trade, but our selves had other designs in them. Neither was there the least suspition of us for these our questions: all supposing I would never run away and leave such an estate as in their accounts and esteem I had.

The most probable course to take, was Northwards.

By diligent inquiry I had come to understand, that the easiest and most probable way to make an escape was by travailing to the Northward, that part of the Land being least inhabited. Therefore we furnished our selves with such wares as were vendible in those parts, as Tobacco, Pepper, Garlick, Combs, all sorts of Iron Ware, &c. and being laden with these things, we two set forth, bending our course towards the Northern Parts of the Island, knowing very little of the way; and the ways of this Countrey generally are intricate and difficult: here being no great High-ways that run thro the Land, but a multitude of little Paths, some from one Town to another, some into the Fields, and some into the Woods where they sow their Corn; and the whole Countrey covered with Woods, that a man cannot see any thing but just before him. And that which makes them most difficult of all, is, that the ways shift and alter, new ways often made and old ways stopped up. For they cut down Woods, and sow the ground, and having got one Crop off from it, they leave it, and Wood soon grows over it again: and in case a Road went thro those Woods, they stop it, and contrive another way; neither do they regard tho it goes two or three miles about: and to ask and inquire the way for us white men is very dangerous, it occasioning the People to suspect us. And the Chingulays themselves never Travail in Countreys

where they are not experienced in the ways without a guide, it being so difficult. And there was no getting a guide to conduct us down to the Sea.

They get three days journey Northward.

But we made a shift to travail from Conde Uda downwards towards the North from Town to Town; happening at a place at last which I knew before, having been brought up formerly from Cooswat that way, to descend the Hill called Bocaul, where there is no Watch, but in time of great disturbance. Thus by the Providence of God we passed all difficulties until we came into the County of Neurecalava, which are the lowest parts that belong to this King; and some three days Journey from the place whence we came. [p. 154.]

But return back again.

We were not a little glad that we were gotten so far onwards in our way, but yet at this time we could go no farther; for our ware was all sold, and we could pretend no more excuses; and also we had been out so long, that it might cause our Towns-men to come and look after us, it being the first time that we had been so long absent from home.

They attempted often to fly this way, but still hindred.

In this manner we went into these Northern Parts eight or ten times, and once got as far as Hourly a Town in the extremities of the Kings Dominions, but yet we could not attain our purpose. For this Northern Countrey being much subject to dry weather, and having no springs, we were fain to drink of Ponds of Rain water, wherein the Cattel lie and tumble, which would be so thick and muddy, that the very filth would hang in our Beards when we drank. This did not agree with our Bodies, being used to drink pure Spring water only. By which means when we first used those parts we used often to be Sick of violent Feavors and Agues, when we came home. Which Diseases happened not only to us, but to all other People that dwelt upon the Mountains, as we did, whensoever they went down into those places; and commonly the major part of those that fall sick, dyes. At which the Chingulays are so scared, that it is very seldom they do adventure their bodies down thither: neither truly would I have done it, were it not for those future hopes, which God of his mercy did at

length accomplish. For both of us smarted sufficiently by those severe Feavors we got, when we should both lay Sick together, and one not able to help the other. Insomuch that our Countrymen and Neighbours used to ask us, if we went thither purposing to destroy our selves, they little thinking, and we not daring to tell them our intent and design.

In those parts is bad Water, but they had an Antidote against it.

At length we learned an Antidote and Counter-Poyson against the filthy venomous water, which so operated by the blessing of God, that after the use thereof we had no more Sickness. It is only a dry leaf ; they call it in Portugueze Banga, beaten to Powder with some of the Countrey Jaggory : and this we eat Morning and Evening upon an empty Stomach. It intoxicates the Brain, and makes one giddy, without any other operation either by Stool or Vomit.

They still improve in the knowledg of their Way.

Thus every Voyage we gathered more experience, and got lower down, for this is a large and spacious Countrey. We travailed to and fro where the ways led us, according to their own Proverb, The Beggar and the Merchant is never out of his way ; because the one begs and the other trades wherever they go. Thus we used to ramble until we had sold all our ware, and then went home for more. And by these means we grew acquainted both with the People and the Paths.

Meets with his black Boy in these parts, who was to guide him to the Dutch.

In these parts I met with my black Boy, whom I had divers years before turned away, who had now Wife and Children. He proved a great help to me in directing me in the ways ; for he had lived many years in these parts. Perceiving him to be able, and also in a very poor and sad condition, not able to maintain his Family, I adventured once to ask him if a good reward would not be welcome to him, for guiding us two down to the Dutch. Which [p. 155.] having done he might return again and no Body the wiser. At which Proposition he seemed to be very joyful, and promised to undertake the same : only at this time for reasons he alledged, which to me seemed probable, as that it was Harvest time and many People about, it could not

so safely and conveniently be done now, as it might be some two Months after.

The business was concluded upon, and the time appointed between us. But it so fell out, that at the very precise time, all things being ready to depart on the morrow, it pleased God, whose time was not yet come, to strike me with a most grievous pain in the hollow on my right side, that for five days together I was not able to stir from the fire side, but by warming it, and fomenting and chafing it I got a little ease.

But disapointed.

Afterward so soon as I was recovered, and got strength, we went down and carried one English man more with us for company, for our better security, seeing we must travail in the Night upon our Flight: but tho we took him with us, we dared not tell him of our design, because he had a Wife, intending not to acquaint him with it, till the Business was just ready to be put into action. But when we came expecting to meet with our guide, he was gone into another Countrey; and we knew not where to find him, and we knew not how to run away without him. Thus we were disapointed that time.

But as formerly, we went to and fro until we had sold our ware; and so returned home again and delivered the man to his wife; but never told him any thing of our intended design, fearing lest, if he knew it, he might acquaint her with it, and so all our purposes coming to be revealed might be overthrown for ever afterwards. For we were resolved by Gods help still to persevere in our design.

An extraordinary drought for three or four years together.

Some eight or nine years one after another we followed this Trade, going down into this Countrey on purpose to seek to get beyond the Inhabitants, and so to run away thro the Woods to the Hollanders. Three or Four years together the dry weather prevented us; when the Countrey was almost starved for want of Rain; all which time they never tilled the Ground. The Wells also were almost all dry; so that in the Towns we could scarcely get Water to drink, or Victuals to eat. Which affrighted us at those times from running into the Woods, lest we might perish

for Thirst. All this while upon the Mountains, where our dwelling was, there was no want of Rain.

We found it an inconvenience when we came three of us down together, reckoning it might give occasion to the people to suspect our design, and so prevent us from going thither again. Some of the English that followed such a Trade as we, had been down that way with their Commodities, but having felt the smart of that Countries Sickness, would go there no more, finding as much profit in nearer and easier Journeys. But we still persisted in our courses this way, having some greater matter to do here than to sell Wares, viz. to find out this Northern Discovery; which in Gods good time we did effect.

[p. 156.]

Chap. IX.

How the Author began his Escape, and got onward of his Way about an Hundred miles.

Their last and successful attempt.

HAving often gone this Way to seek for Liberty, but could not yet find it; we again set forth to try what Success God Almighty would now give us, in the Year MDCLXXIX, on the Two and twentieth of September, furnished with such Arms as we could well carry with safety and secrecy, which were Knives and small Axes; we carried also several sorts of Ware to sell as formerly: the Moon being seven and twenty dayes old. Which we had so contrived, that we might have a light Moon, to see the better to run away by: having left an Old Man at home, whom I had hired to live with me, to look after my House and Goats.

The way they went.

We went down at the Hill Bocawl, where there was now no Watch, and but seldom any. From thence down to the Town of Bonder Cooswat, where my Father dyed; and by the Town of Nicavar, which is the last Town belonging to Hotcurly in that Road. From thence forward the Towns stand thin. For it was sixteen miles to

the next Town called Parroah, which lay in the Country of Neure-Cawlava, and all the way thro a Wilderness called Parroah Mocolane, full of wild Elephants, Tigres and Bears.

They design for Anarodgburro.

Now we set our design for Anarodgburro, which is the lowest place inhabited belonging to the King of Cande: where there is a Watch alwayes kept: and nearer than twelve or fourteen miles of this Town as yet we never had been.

They turn out of the way to avoid the King's Officers.

When we came into the midst of this Countrey, we heard that the Governor thereof had sent Officers from the Court to dispatch away the Kings Revenues and Duties to the City, and that they were now come into the Country. Which put us into no small fear, lest if they saw us they should send us back again. Wherefore we edged away into the Westernmost Parts of Ecpoulpot, being a remote part of that Countrey wherein we now were. And there we sate to knitting until we heard they were gone. But this caused us to overshoot our time, the Moon spending so fast. But as soon as we heard they were departed out of the Countrey, we went onwards of our Journey, having kept most of our Ware for a pretence to have an occasion to go further. And having bought a good parcel of Cotton Yarn to knit Caps withal, the rest of our Ware we gave out, was to buy dryed flesh with, which only in those lower Parts is to be sold.

Forced to pass thro the Chief Governours yard.

Our Way now lay necessarily thro the chief Governors Yard at Colliwilla. Who dwells there purposely to see and examine all that go and come. This greatly distressed us. First, because he was a stranger to us, and one whom we had never seen. And secondly, because there was no other way to escape him: and plain reason would tell him, that we being prisoners were without our bounds. Whereupon we concluded, that our best way would be to go boldly and resolutely to his house, and not to seem daunted in the least, or to look as if we did distrust him to disallow of our Journey, but to shew such a behaviour, as if we had authority to travail where we would.

[p. 157.] *The Method they used to prevent his suspition of them.*

So we went forward, and were forced to enquire and ask the way to his house, having never been so far this way before. I brought from home with me Knives with fine carved handles, and a red Tunis Cap purposely to sell or give him, if occasion required, knowing before, that we must pass by him. And all along as we went, that we might be the less suspected, we sold Caps and other Ware, to be paid for at our return homewards. There were many cross Paths to and fro to his house, yet by Gods Providence we happened in the right Road. And having reached his house, according to the Countrey manner we went and sate down in the open house; which kind of Houses are built on purpose for the reception of Strangers. Whither not long after the Great Man himself came and sate down by us. To whom we presented a small parcel of Tobacco, and some Betel. And before he asked us the cause of our coming, we shewed him the Ware we brought for him, and the Cotton Yarn which we had trucked about the Country: telling him withall how the case stood with us: viz. That we had a Charge greater than the Kings allowance would maintain; and that because dryed Flesh was the chief Commodity of that Part, we told him, That missing of the Lading which we used to carry back, we were glad to come thither to see, if we could make it up with dryed Flesh. And therefore if he would please to supply us either for such Ware as we had brought, or else for our Money, it would be a great favour, the which would oblige us for the future to bring him any necessaries that he should name unto us, when we should come again unto those Parts, as we used to do very often: and that we could furnish him, having dealings and being acquainted with the best Artificers in Cande.

At which he replyed, That he was sorry we were come at such a dry time, wherein they could not catch Deer, but if some Rain fell, he would soon dispatch us with our Ladings of Flesh. But however, he bade us go about the Towns, and see whether there might be any or no, tho he thought there was none. This answer of his pleased us

wondrous well, both because by this we saw he suspected us not, and because he told us there was no dryed Flesh to be got. For it was one of our greatest fears that we should get our Lading too soon: for then, we could not have had an excuse to go further. And as yet we could not possibly fly: having still six miles further to the Northward to go before we could attempt it, that is, to Anarodgburro.

Their danger by reason of the ways they were to pass.

From Anarodgburro it is two dayes Journey further thro a desolate Wilderness before there is any more Inhabitants. And these Inhabitants are neither under this King nor the Dutch, but are Malabars, and are under a Prince of their own. This People we were sorely afraid of, lest they might seize us and send us back, there being a correspondence between this Prince and the King of Cande; wherefore it was our endeavour by all means to shun them; lest according to the old Proverb, We might leap out of the Frying-pan into the Fire.

They still remain at the Governours, to prevent suspition.

But we must take care of that as well as we could when we came among them, for as yet our care was to get to Anarodgburro. Where altho it was our desire to get, yet we would not seem to be too hasty, lest it might occasion suspition: but lay where we were two or three dayes: and one stay'd at the Governors House a knitting, whilst the other went about among the Towns to see for Flesh. The Ponds in the Country being now dry, there was Fish every where in abundance, which they dry like red Herrings over [p. 158.] a fire. They offered to sell us store of them, but they, we told them, would not turn to so good profit as Flesh. The which, we said, we would have, tho we stayed ten dayes longer for it. For here we could live as cheap, and earn as much as if we were at home, by our knitting. So we seemed to them as if we were not in any hast.

An accident that now created them great fear.

In the mean time happened an Accident which put us to a great fright. For the King having newly clapped up several Persons of Quality, whereof my old Neighbour Ova Motteral, that sent for me to Court, was one, sent down Souldiers to this High Sheriff or Governor, at whose

house we now were, to give him order to set a secure Guard at the Watches, that no suspitious persons might pass. This he did to prevent the Relations of these imprisoned persons from making an Escape, who thro fear of the King might attempt it. This always is the Kings custome to do. But it put us into an exceeding fear, lest it might beget an admiration in these Soldiers to see White men so low down: which indeed is not customary nor allowed of: and so they might send us up again. Which doubtless they would have done, had it not been of God by this means and after this manner to deliver us. Especially considering that the King's Command came just at that time and so expresly to keep a secure Guard at the Watches, and that in that very Way that alwayes we purposed to go in: so that it seemed scarcely possible for us to pass afterwards, tho we should get off fairly at present with the Soldiers.

But get fairly rid of it.

Which we did. For they having delivered their Message, departed, shewing themselves very kind and civil unto us. And we seemed to lament for our hard fortune, that we were not ready to go upwards with them in their good company: for we were Neighbours dwelling in one and the same County. However we bid them carry our commendations to our Countrymen the English, with whom they were acquainted at the City, and so bad them farewel. And glad we were when they were gone from us. And the next day in the morning we resolved, God willing, to set forward. But we thought not fit to tell our Host, the Governor, of it, till the very instant of our departing, that he might not have any time to deliberate concerning us.

That Night he being disposed to be merry, sent for people whose trade it is to dance and shew tricks, to come to his house to entertain him with their Sports. The beholding them spent most part of the Night. Which we merrily called our Old Host's Civility to us at our last parting: as it proved indeed, tho he, honest man, then little dreamed of any such thing.

They get away fairly from the Governour.

The morning being come, we first took care to fill our Bellies; then we packed up those things which were necessary for our Journey to carry with us, and the rest of our Goods, Cotton Yarn, and Cloth and other things, that we would not incumber our selves withall, we bound up in a Bundle, intending to leave them behind us. This being done, I went to the Governor, and carried him four or five charges of Gunpowder, a thing somewhat scarce with them, intreating him rather than we should be disappointed of Flesh, to make use of that and shoot some Deer; which he was very willing to accept of, and to us it could be no wayes profitable, not having a Gun. While we, we told him, would make a step to Anarodgburro to see what Flesh we could procure there. In the mean time, according as [p. 159.] we had before layd the business, came Stephen with the Bundle of Goods, desiring to leave them in his house, till we came back. Which he was very ready to grant us leave to do. And seeing us leave such a parcel of Goods, tho, God knowes, but of little account in themselves, yet of considerable value in that Land, he could not suppose otherwise but that we were intended to return again. Thus we took our leaves, and immediately departed, not giving him time to consider with himself, or consult with others about us. And he like a good natured man bid us heartily farewel.

Altho we knew not the way to this Town, having never been there in all our lives, and durst not ask, lest it might breed suspition; yet we went on confidently thro a desolate Wood: and happened to go very right, and came out directly at the place.

In their way they meet with a River which they found for their purpose.

But in our way before we arrived hither, we came up with a small River, which ran thro the Woods, called by the Chingulayes Malwat oyah: the which we viewed well, and judged it might be a probable guide to carry us down to the Sea, if a better did not present. Howbeit we thought good to try first the way we were taking, and to go onward towards Anarodgburro, that being the shortest and easiest way to get to the Coast: and this River being

as under our Lee, ready to serve and assist us, if other means failed.

They come safely to Anarodgburro. This Place described.

To Anarodgburro therefore we came, called also Neur Waug. Which is not so much a particular single Town, as a Territory. It is a vast great Plain, the like I never saw in all that Island: in the midst whereof is a Lake, which may be a mile over, not natural, but made by art, as other Ponds in the Country, to serve them to water their Corn Grounds. This Plain is encompassed round with Woods, and small Towns among them on every side, inhabited by Malabars, a distinct People from the Chingulayes. But these Towns we could not see till we came in among them. Being come out thro the Woods into this Plain, we stood looking and staring round about us, but knew not where nor which way to go. At length we heard a Cock crow, which was a sure sign to us that there was a Town hard by; into which we were resolved to enter. For standing thus amazed, was the ready way to be taken up for suspitious persons, especially because White men never come down so low.

The People stand amazed at them.

Being entred into this Town, we sate our selves under a Tree, and proclaimed our Wares, for we feared to rush into their Yards, as we used to do in other places, lest we should scare them. The People stood amazed as soon as they saw us, being originally Malabars, tho Subjects of Cande. Nor could they understand the Chingulay Language in which we spake to them. And we stood looking one upon another until there came one that could speak the Chingulay Tongue: Who asked us, from whence we came? We told him, From Conde Uda. But they believed us not, supposing that we came up from the Dutch from Manaar. So they brought us before their Governor. He not speaking Chingulais, spake to us by an Interpreter. And to know the truth, whether we came from the place we pretended, he inquired about News at Court; demanded, Who were Governors of such and such Countreys? and what was become of some certain Noble-men, whom the King had lately cut off? and also What the common people

They are examined by the Governour of the Place.

were employed about at Court, for it is seldom that they are idle. To all which we gave satisfactory answers. Then he enquired of us, Who gave us leave to come down so low? We told him, That priviledg was given to us by the King himself full Fifteen Years since at his Palace at Nellemby, when he caused it to be declared unto us, that we were no longer prisoners, and (which indeed was our own addition) that we were free to enjoy the benefit of Trade in all his Dominions. [p. 160.]

To prove and confirm the truth of which, we alledged the distance of the Way that we were now come from home, being near an hundred miles, passing thro several Counties, where we met with several Governors and Officers in their respective Jurisdictions; who had they not been well sensible of these Priviledges granted us, would not have allowed us to pass thro their Countries. All which Officers we described to him by name; and also that now we came from the High Sheriff's House at Colliwilla, where we had been these three dayes, and there heard of the Order that was come to secure the Watches; which was not for fear of the running away of White men, but of the Chingulayes. These Reasons gave him full satisfaction, that we were innocent Traders, seeing also the Commodities that we had brought with us: this further confirmed his opinion concerning us.

Provide things necessary for their flight.

The People were very glad of our coming, and gave us an end of an open house to ly in: but at present they had no dryed Flesh, but desired us to stay two or three days and we should not fail: which we were very ready to consent to, hoping by that time to come to the knowledg of the way, and to learn where about the watch was placed. To prevent the least surmise that we were Plotting to run away, we agreed, that Stephen should stay in the house by the things, while I with some few went abroad; pretending to enquire for dryed Flesh to carry back with us to Cande, but intending to make discoveries of the way, and provide necessaries for our Flight, as Rice, a Brass Pot to boil our Rice in, a little dryed Flesh to eat, and a Deers-

skin to make us Shooes of. And by the Providence of my gracious God, all these things I happened upon and bought. But as our good hap was, Deers-Flesh we could meet with none. So that we had time enough to fit our selves; all People thinking that we stayed only to buy Flesh.

They find it not safe to proceed further this way.

Here we stayed three days; during which we had found the great Road that runs down towards Jafnapatan, one of the Northern Ports belonging to the Dutch, which Road we judged led also towards Manaar a Dutch Northern Port also, which was the Place that we endeavoured to get to, lying above two or three days Journey distant from us. But in this Road there was a Watch lay, which must be passed. Where this Watch was placed, it was necessary for us punctually to know, and to endeavour to get a sight of it. And if we could do this, our intent was to go unseen by Night, the people being then afraid to travayl, and being come up to the Watch, to slip aside into the Woods, and so go on untill we were past it; and then strike into the Road again. But this Project came to nothing, because I could not without suspition and danger go and view this Watch; which layd some four or five miles below this Plain; and so far I could not frame any business to go.

[p. 161.] But several inconveniences we saw here, insomuch that we found it would not be safe for us to go down in this Road. For if we should have slipt away from them by Night, in the Morning we should be missed, and then most surely they would go that way to chace us, and ten to one overtake us, being but one Night before them. Also we knew not whether or no, it might lead us into the Countrey of the Malabar Prince, of whom we were much afraid.

Then resolving to let the great Road alone, we thought of going right down thro the Woods, and steer our course by the Sun and Moon: but the Ground being so dry we feared we should not meet with Water. So we declined that Counsel also. Thus being in doubt, we prayed God to direct us, and to put it into our hearts which way to

take. Then after a Consultation between our selves, all things considered, we concluded it the best course to go back to Malwat oyah, the River we had well viewed that lay in our way as we came hither. And back thither we resolved to repair. *Resolve to go back to the River they lately passed.*

Chap. X.

The Author's Progress in his Flight from Anarodgburro, into the Woods, unto their arrival in the Malabars Countrey.

NOw God of his Mercy having prospered our Design hitherto, for which we blessed his Holy Name, our next care was how to come off clear from the People of Anarodgburro, that they might not presently miss us, and so pursue after us. Which if they should do, there would have been no escaping them. For from this Town to Colliwilla, where the Sheriff lived, with whom we left our Goods, they are as well acquainted in the Woods as in the Paths. And when we came away we must tell the People, that we were going thither, because there is no other way but that. Now our fear was, lest upon some occasion or other any Men might chance to Travel that way soon after we were gone, and not finding us at Colliwilla, might conclude, as they could do no otherwise, that we were run into the Woods. Therefore to avoid this Danger, we stayed in the Town till it was so late, that we knew none durst venture to Travel afterwards for fear of wild Beasts. By which means we were sure to gain a Nights Travel at least, if they should chance to pursue us. *They depart back again towards the River.*

So we took our leaves of the Governor, who kindly gave us a Pot of Milk to drink for a farewel; we telling him, We were returning back to the Sheriff at Colliwilla, to whom we had given some Gunpowder when we came from him to shoot us some Deer, and we doubted not but by that time we should get to him, he would have provided *But first take their leave of the Governor here.*

flesh enough for our lading home. Thus bidding him and the rest of the Neighbours farewel, we departed, they giving us the Civility of their accustomed Prayers, Diabat, that is, God bless, or keep you.

They begin their flight.

[p. 162.]

It was now the Twelfth day of October on a Sunday, the Moon eighteen days old. We were well furnished with all things needful, which we could get, Viz. Ten days Provision, Rice, Flesh, Fish, Pepper, Salt, a Bason to boil our Victuals in, two Calabasses to fetch Water, two great Tallipats for Tents, big enough to sleep under if it should rain, Jaggory and Sweet-meats, which we brought from home with us, Tobacco also and Betel, Tinder-Boxes two or three for failing, and a Deers Skin to make us Shooes, to prevent any Thorns running into our feet as we travelled through the Woods; for our greatest Trust under God was to our feet. Our Weapons were, each man a small Axe fastned to a long Staff in our hands, and a good Knife by our sides. Which were sufficient with God's help to defend us from the Assaults of either Tiger or Bear; and as for Elephants there is no standing against them, but the best defence is to flee from them.

In this Posture and Equipage we marched forward. When we were come within a Mile of this River, it being about Four in the Evening, we began to fear, lest any of the People of Anarodgburro from whence we came, should follow us to Colliwella. Which place we never intended to come at more: the River along which we intended to go, laying on this side of it. That we might be secure therefore that no People came after us, we sat down upon a Rock by a hole that was full of water in the High-way; until it was so late, that we were sure no People durst Travel. In case any had come after us, and seen us sitting there and gotten no further, we intended to tell them, That one of us was taken Sick by the way, and therefore not able to go. But it was our happy chance there came none. So about Sundown we took up our Sacks of Provisions, and marched forward for the River, which under God we had pitched upon to be our guide down to the Sea.

They come to the River along which they resolved to go.

Being come at the River, we left the Road, and struck into the Woods by the River side. We were exceeding careful not to tread on the Sand or soft Ground, lest our footsteps should be seen; and where it could not be avoided, we went backwards, so that by the print of our feet, it seemed as if we had gone the contrary way. We were now gotten a good way into the Wood; when it grew dark and began to Rain, so that we thought it best to pitch our Tents, and get Wood for Firing before it was all wet, and too dark to find it. Which we did, and kindled a fire.

Which they travel along by till it was dark.

Then we began to fit our selves for our Journey against the Moon arose. All our Sale-wares which we had left we cast away, (for we took care not to sell too much) keeping only Provisions and what was very necessary for our Journey. About our Feet we tied pieces of Deers-hide to prevent Thorns and Stumps annoying our feet. We always used to Travel bare-foot, but now being to travel by Night and in the Woods, we feared so to do. For if our feet should fail us now, we were quite undone. And by the time we had well-fitted our selves, and were refreshed with a Morsel of Portuguez Sweet-meats, the Moon began to shine. So having commended our selves into the hands of the Almighty, we took up our Provisions upon our shoulders, and set forward, and travelled some three or four hours, but with a great deal of difficulty; for the Trees being thick, the Moon gave but little light thro, but our resolution was to keep going.

Now they fit themselves for their Journey.

Now it was our chance to meet with an Elephant in our way just before us: which we tryed, but could not scare away: so he forced us to stay. We kindled a Fire and sate down, and took a Pipe of Tobacco, waiting till Morning. Then we looked round about us, and it appeared all like a Wilderness, and no sign that People ever had been there; which put us in great hopes that we had gained our Passage, and were past all the Inhabitants. Whereupon we concluded that we were now in no danger of being seen, and might Travel in the Day securely.

Meeting with an Elephant they took up for that night. [p. 163.]

There was only one great Road in our way, which led to Portaloon from the Towns which by and by we fell into; this Road therefore we were shy of, lest when we passed it over, some Passengers travelling in it, might see us; and this Road we were in expectance about this time to meet withal, secure, as I said before, of all other danger of People. But the River winding about to the Northward brought us into the midst of a parcel of Towns called Tissea Wava, before we were aware. For the Countrey being all Woods, we could not discern where there were Towns, until we came within the hearing of them. That which betrayed us into this danger was, that meeting with a Path, which only led from one Town to another, we concluded it to be that great Road above mentioned; and so having past it over, we supposed the Danger we might encounter in being seen, was also past over with it; but we were mistaken; for going further we still met with other Paths, which we crossed over, still hoping one or other of them was that great Road; but at last we perceived our Error; viz. That they were only Paths that went from one Town to another.

They fall in among Towns before they are aware.

And so while we were avoiding Men and Towns, we ran into the midst of them. This was a great trouble to us, hearing the Noise of People round about us, and knew not how to avoid them; into whose hands we knew if we had fallen, they would have carried us up to the King, besides Beating and Plundring us to boot.

We knew before that these Towns were here away, but had we known that this River turned and run in among them, we should never have undertaken the Enterprize. But now to go back, after we had newly passed so many Paths, and Fields and places where People did resort, we thought not advisable, and that the danger in so doing might be greater than in going forward. And had we known so much then, as afterwards did appear to us, it had been safer for us to have gone on, than to have hid there as we did; which we then thought was the best course we could take for the present extremity: viz. To

secure our selves in secret until Night, and then to run thro in the dark. All that we now wanted was a hole to creep in to lye close, for the Woods thereabouts were thin, and no shrubs or bushes, under which we might be concealed.

Their fright lest they should be seen.

We heard the noise of People on every side, and expected every moment to see some of them to our great terror. And it is not easie to say in what Danger, and in what apprehension of it we were; it was not safe for us to stir backwards or forwards for fear of running among People, and it was as unsafe to stand still where we were, lest some body might spy us: and where to find Covert we could not tell. Looking about us in these straits we spyed a great Tree by us, which for the bigness thereof 'tis probable might be hollow. To which we went, and found it so. It was like a Tub, some three foot high. Into it immediately we both crept, and made a shift to sit there for several hours, tho very uneasily, and all in mud and wet. But however it did greatly comfort us in the fright and amazement we were in.

Hid themselves in a hollow Tree.

[p. 164.]

They get safely over this Danger.

So soon as it began to grow dark, we came creeping out of our hollow Tree, and put for it as fast as our Legs could carry us. And then we crossed that great Road, which all the day before we did expect to come up with, keeping close by the River side, and going so long till dark Night stopped us. We kept going the longer, because we heard the Voice of Men hollowing towards Evening: which created us a fresh disturbance, thinking them to be People that were coming to chace us. But at length we heard Elephants behind us, between us and the Voice, which we knew by the noise of cracking the Boughs and small Trees, which they break down and eat. These Elephants were a very good Guard behind us, and were methought like the Darkness that came between Israel and the Egyptians. For the People we knew would not dare to go forwards hearing Elephants before them.

They dress Meat and lay down to sleep.

In this Security we pitched our Tents by the River side, and boiled Rice and roasted flesh for our Supper, for we

were very hungry, and so commending our selves to God's keeping laid down to sleep. The Voice which we heard still continued, which lasting so long we knew what it meant; it was nothing but the hollowing of People that lay to watch the Corn Fields, to scare away the wild Beasts out of their Corn. Thus we past Monday.

They fear wild Men, which these Woods abound with.

But nevertheless next Morning so soon as the Moon shone out bright, to prevent the worst we took up our Packs, and were gone: being past all the tame Inhabitants with whom we had no more trouble. But the next day we feared we should come among the wild ones; for these Woods are full of them. Of these we were as much afraid as of the other. For they would have carried us back to the King, where we should be kept Prisoners, but these we feared would have shot us, not standing to hear us plead for our selves.

They meet with many of their Tents.

And indeed all along as we went, by the sides of the River till we came to the Malabar Inhabitants, had been the Tents of wild Men, made only of Boughs of Trees. But God be praised, they were all gone, tho but very lately before we came: as we perceived by the Bones of Cattle, and shells of Fruit, which lay scattered about. We supposed that want of water had driven them out of the Countrey down to the River side, but since it had rained a shower or two they were gone again. Once about Noon sitting down upon a Rock by the River side to take a Pipe of Tobacco and rest our selves; we had almost been discovered by the Women of these wild People, coming down, as I suppose, to wash themselves in the River. Who being many of them, came talking and laughing together. At the first hearing of the noise being a good distance, we marvailed what it was: sitting still and listning, it came nearer a little above where we sat; and at last we could plainly distinguish it to be the Voices of Women and Children. Whereupon we thought it no boot to sit longer, since we could escape undiscovered, and so took up our Bags and fled as fast as we could.

Very near falling upon the wild People.

What kind of travelling they had.

Thus we kept travelling every day from Morning till

Night, still along by the River side, which turned and winded very crooked. In some places it would be pretty good Travelling, and but few Bushes and Thorns, and in others a great many. So that our Shoulders and Arms were all of a Gore, being grievously torn and scratched. For we had nothing on us but a clout about our Middles, and our Victuals on our Shoulders, and in our hands a Tallipat and an Ax. [p. 165.]

Some account of this River.

The lower we came down this River, the less Water, so that sometimes we could go a Mile or two upon the Sand, and in some places three or four Rivers would all meet together. When it happened so, and was Noon, the Sun over our head, and the Water not running, we could not tell which to follow, but were forced to stay till the Sun was fallen, thereby to judge of our course. We often met with Bears, Hogs, Deer, and wild Buffaloes, but all ran so soon as they saw us. But Elephants we met with no more than that I mentioned before. The River is exceeding full of Aligators all a long as we went; the upper part of it nothing but Rocks. Here and there by the side of this River is a world of hewn Stone Pillars, standing upright, and other heaps of hewn Stones, which I suppose formerly were Buildings. And in three or four places are the ruins of Bridges built of Stone; some Remains of them yet standing upon Stone Pillars. In many places are Points built out into the River like Wharfs, all of hewn Stone; which I suppose have been built for Kings to sit upon for Pleasure. For I cannot think they ever were employed for Traffick by Water; the River being so full of Rocks that Boats could never come up into it.

Ruins.

The Woods hereabouts.

The Woods in all these Northern Parts are short and shrubbed, and so they are by the River side, and the lower the worse; and the Grounds so also.

How they secured themselves a nights against wild Beasts.

In the Evenings we used to pitch our Tent, and make a great Fire both before and behind us, that the wild Beasts might have notice where we lay; and we used to hear the Voices of all sorts of them, but, thanks be to God, none ever came near to hurt us. Yet we were the more wary

of them, because once a Tiger shewed us a cheat. For having bought a Deer, and having nothing to salt it up in, we packed it up in the Hide thereof salted, and laid it under a Bench in an open House, on which I lay that Night, and Stephen layd just by it on the Ground, and some three People more lay then in the same House; and in the said House a great Fire, and another in the Yard. Yet a Tiger came in the Night, and carried Deer and Hide and all away. But we missing it, concluded it was a Thief. We called up the People that lay by us, and told them what had happened. Who informed us that it was a Tiger, and with a Torch they went to see which way he had gone, and presently found some of it, which he let drop by the way. When it was day we went further, and pickt up more which was scattered, till we came to the Hide it self, which remained uneaten.

They pass the River that divides the King's Countrey from the Malabars.

We had now Travelled till Thursday Afternoon, when we crossed the River called Coronda oyah, which was then quite dry; this parts the King's Countrey from the Malabars. We saw no sign of Inhabitants here. The Woods began to be very full of Thorns, and shrubby Bushes with Clifts and broken Land; so that we could not possibly go in the Woods; but now the River grew better being clear of Rocks, and dry, water only standing in holes. So we marched along in the River upon the Sand. Hereabouts are far more Elephants than higher up: by Day we saw none, but by Night the River is full of them.

[p. 166.]

After four or five days travel they come among Inhabitants.

Friday about Nine or Ten in the Morning we came among the Inhabitants. For then we saw the footing of People on the Sand, and tame Cattel with Bells about their Necks. Yet we kept on our way right down the River, knowing no other course to take to shun the People. And as we went still forwards we saw Coracan Corn, sowed in the Woods, but neither Towns nor People: nor so much as the Voice of Man. But yet we were somewhat dismayed, knowing that we were now in a Countrey inhabited by Malabars. The Wanniounay or Prince of this People for fear pay Tribute to the Dutch, but stands far more

affected towards the King of Cande. Which made our care the greater to keep our selves out of his hands; fearing lest if he did not keep us himself, he might send us up to our old Master. So that great was our terror again, lest meeting with People we might be discovered. Yet there was no means now left us how to avoid the Danger of being seen. The Woods were so bad, that we could not possibly Travel in them for Thorns: and to Travel by Night was impossible, it being a dark Moon, and the River a Nights so full of Elephants and other wild Beasts coming to drink; as we did both hear and see laying upon the Banks with a Fire by us. They came in such Numbers because there was Water for them no where else to be had, the Ponds and holes of Water, nay the River it self in many places being dry.

But do what they can to avoid them.

There was therefore no other way to be taken but to Travel on in the River. So down we went into the Sand, and put on as fast as we could set our Legs to the ground, seeing no People (nor I think no body us) only Buffaloes in abundance in the Water.

As yet undiscovered.

Chap. XI.

Being in the Malabar Territories, how they encountred two Men, and what passed between them. And of their getting safe unto the Dutch Fort. And their Reception there, and at the Island Manaar, until their Embarking for Columbo.

THus we went on till about three of the Clock afternoon. At which time coming about a Point, we came up with two Bramins on a sudden, who were sitting under a Tree boyling Rice. We were within forty paces of them; when they saw us they were amazed at us, and as much afraid of us as we were of them. Now we thought it better Policy to treat with them than to flee from them;

They met with two Malabars. To whom they relate their Condition.

fearing they might have Bows and Arrows, whereas we were armed only with Axes in our hands, and Knives by our sides; or else that they might raise the Countrey and pursue us. So we made a stand, and in the Chingulay Language asked their leave to come near to treat with them, but they did not understand it. But being risen up spake to us in the Malabar Tongue, which we could not
[p. 167.] understand. Then still standing at a distance we intimated our minds to them by signs, beckoning with our hand: which they answered in the same Language. Then offering to go towards them, and seeing them to be naked men and no Arms near them, we laid our Axes upon the ground with our Bags, lest we might scare them, if we had come up to them with those weapons in our hands, and so went towards them with only our Knives by our sides: by signs with our hands shewing them our bloody Backs we made them understand whence we came, and whither we were going. Which when they perceived they seemed to commiserate our condition, and greatly to admire at such a Miracle which God had brought to pass: and as they talked one to another they lifted up their hands and faces towards Heaven, often repeating Tombrane which is God in the Malabar Tongue.

They are courteous to them.

And by their signs we understood they would have us bring our Bags and Axes nearer; which we had no sooner done, but they brought the Rice and Herbs which they had boiled for themselves to us, and bad us eat; which we were not fitted to do, having not long before eaten a hearty Dinner of better fare; yet could not but thankfully accept of their compassion and kindness, and eat as much as we could; and in requital of their courtesie, we gave them some of our Tobacco. Which after much entreating they did receive, and it pleased them exceedingly.

But loath to conduct them to the Hollander.

After these civilities passed on either side, we began by signs to desire them to go with us and shew us the way to the Dutch Fort: which they were very unwilling to do, saying, as by signs and some few words which we could understand, that our greatest danger was past, and that by

Night we might get into the Hollanders Dominions. Yet we being weary with our tedious journey, and desirous to have a guide, shewed them Money to the value of five Shillings, being all I had; and offered it them to go with us. Which together with our great importunity so prevailed, that one of them took it; and leaving his fellow to carry their Baggage he went with us about one Mile, and then began to take his leave of us, and to return. Which we supposed was to get more from us. Having therefore no more Money, we gave him a red Tunis Cap and a Knife, for which he went a Mile farther, and then as before would leave us, signifying to us, that we were out of danger, and he could go no further.

Now we had no more left to give him, but began to perceive, that what we had parted withall to him, was but flung away; and altho we might have taken all from him again being alone in the Wood, yet we feared to do it, lest thereby we might exasperate him, and so he might give notice of us to the People, but bad him farewel, after he had conducted us about four or five Miles. And we kept on our journey down the River as before, until it was Night, and lodged upon a Bank under a Tree: but were in the way of the Elephants; for in the Night they came and had like to have disturbed us, so that for our preservation we were forced to fling Fire brands at them to scare them away.

In danger of Elephants.

The next Morning being Saturday as soon as it was light, having eaten to strengthen us, as Horses do Oats before they Travail, we set forth going still down the River; the Sand was dry and loose, and so very tedious to go upon: by the side we could not go, being all overgrown with Bushes. The Land hereabouts was as smooth as a bowling-green, but the Grass clean burnt up for want of Rain.

[p. 168.]

Having Travailed about two hours, we saw a Man walking in the River before us, whom we would gladly have shunned, but well could not, for he walked down the River as we did, but at a very slow rate, which much hindred us.

They overtake another man, who tells them they were in the Dutch Dominions.

But we considering upon the distance we had come, since we left the Bramin, and comparing it with what he told us, we concluded we were in the Hollanders jurisdiction: and so amended our pace to overtake the Man before us. Whom we perceiving to be free from timerousness at the sight of us, concluded he had used to see White-men. Whereupon we asked him, to whom he belonged. He speaking the Chingulay Language answered, To the Dutch; and also that all the Country was under their Command, and that we were out of all danger, and that the Fort of Arrepa was but some six miles off. Which did not a little rejoyce us, we told him, we were of that Nation, and had made our escape from Cande, where we had been many years kept in Captivity; and having nothing to give him our selves, we told him, that it was not to be doubted, but the Chief Commander at the Fort would bountifully reward him, if he would go with us and direct us thither. But whether he doubted of that or no, or whether he expected something in hand, he excused himself pretending earnest and urgent occasions that he could not defer: but advised us to leave the River, because it winds so much about, and turn up without fear to the Towns, where the People would direct us the way to the Fort.

They Arrive at Arrepa Fort.

Upon his advice we struck up a Path that came down to the River, intending to go to a Town, but could find none; and there were so many cross Paths that we could not tell which way to go: and the Land here so exceedingly low and level, that we could see no other thing but Trees. For altho I got up a Tree to look if I could see the Dutch Fort, or discern any Houses, yet I could not; and the Sun being right over our heads neither could that direct us: insomuch that we wished our selves again in our old friend, the River. So after so much wandring up and down we sat down under a Tree waiting until the Sun was fallen, or some People came by. Which not long after three or four Malabars did. One of which could speak a little Portugueze. We told these Men, we were Hollanders, supposing they would be the more willing to go with us,

but they proved of the same temper with the rest before mentioned. For until I gave one of them a small Knife to cut Betel-nuts, he would not go with us: but for the lucre of that he conducted us to a Town. From whence they sent a Man with us to the next, and so we were passed from Town to Town, until we arrived at the Fort called Arrepa: it being about four of the Clock on Saturday afternoon. October the eighteenth MDCLXXIX. Which day God grant us grace that we may never forget, when he was pleased to give us so great a deliverance from such a long Captivity, of nineteen years, and six Months, and odd days, being taken Prisoner when I was nineteen years old, and continued upon the Mountains among the Heathen till I attained to Eight and Thirty.

He Travailed a Nights in the Woods without fear, and slept securely.

In this my Flight thro the Woods, I cannot but take notice with some wonder and great thankfulness, that this Travelling by Night in a desolate Wilderness was little or nothing dreadful to me, whereas formerly the very thoughts of it would seem to dread me, and in the Night when I laid down to rest with wild Beasts round me, I slept as soundly and securely, as ever I did at home in my own House. Which courage and peace I look upon to be the immediate gift of God to me upon my earnest Prayers, which at that time he poured into my heart in great measure and fervency. After which I found my self freed from those frights and fears, which usually possessed my heart at other times. [p. 169.]

In short, I look upon the whole Business as a miraculous Providence, and that the hand of God did eminently appear to me, as it did of old to his People Israel in the like circumstances, in leading and conducting me thro this dreadful Wilderness, and not to suffer any evil to approach nigh unto me.

Entertained very kindly.

The Hollanders much wondered at our Arrival, it being so strange that any should escape from Cande; and entertained us very kindly that Night: and the next Morning being Sunday, sent a Corporal with us to Manaar, and a Black Man to carry our few things.

Sent to Manaar. Received by the Captain of the Castle.

At Manaar we were brought before the Captain of the Castle, the Cheif Governor being absent. Who when we came in was just risen from Dinner; he received us with a great deal of kindness and bad us set down to eat. It seemed not a little strange to us, who had dwelt so long in Straw Cottages among the Black Heathen, and used to sit on the Ground and eat our Meat on Leaves, now to sit on Chairs and eat out of China Dishes at a Table. Where were great Varieties, and a fair and sumptuous House inhabited by White and Christian People; we being then in such Habit and Guize, our Natural colour excepted, that we seemed not fit to eat with his Servants, no nor his Slaves.

Who intended them to Sail the next day to Jafnapatan.

After Dinner the Captain inquired concerning the Affairs of the King and Countrey, and the condition of their Ambassadors and People there. To all which we gave them true and satisfactory Answers. Then he told us, That to Morrow there was a Sloop to sail to Jafnapatan, in which he would send us to the Commander or Governor, from whence we might have passage to Fort St. George, or any other place on that Coast, according to our desire. After this, he gave us some Money, bidding us go to the Castle, to drink and be merry with our Country-men there. For all which kindness giving him many thanks in the Portugueze Language, we took our leaves of him.

Here they meet with a Scotch and Irish man.

When we came to the Court of Guard at the Castle, we asked the Soldiers if there were no English men among them. Immediatly there came forth two men to us, the one a Scotchman named Andrew Brown; the other an Irishman whose name was Francis Hodges. Who after very kind salutes carried us unto their Lodgings in the Castle, and entertained us very nobly, according to their Ability, with Rack and Tobacco.

The People flock to see them.

The News of our Arrival being spread in the Town, the People came flocking to see us, a strange and wonderful sight! and some to enquire about their Husbands, Sons, and Relations, which were Prisoners in Cande.

In the Evening a Gentleman of the Town sent to invite

us to his House, where we were gallantly entertained both with Victuals and Lodging.

The next day being Munday, ready to Embark for Jafnapatan, came Order from the Captain and Council, that we must stay until the Commander of Jafnapatan, who was daily expected, came thither. Which we could not deny to do: and order was given to the Victualers of the Soldiers, to provide for us. The Scotch and Irish man were very glad of this Order, that they might have our company longer; and would not suffer us to spend the Captains benevolence in their company, but spent freely upon us at their own charges. Thanks be to God we both continued in health all the time of our Escape: but within three days after we came to Manaar, my Companion fell very Sick, that I thought I should have lost him. [p. 170.] *They are ordered a longer stay.*

Thus we remained some ten days; at which time the expected Commander arrived, and was received with great ceremonies of State. The next day we went before him to receive his orders concerning us. Which were, to be ready to go with him on the morrow to Columbo, there being a Ship that had long waited in that Road to carry him. In which we embarked with him for Columbo. At our coming on board to go to Sea, we could not expect but to be Sea-sick, being now as Fresh men, having so long disused the Sea, but it proved otherwise, and we were not in the least stirred. *They embark for Columbo.*

Chap. XII.

Their Arrival at Columbo, and entertainment there. Their departure thence to Batavia. And from thence to Bantam: Whence they set Sail for England.

They are wondred at at Columbo.

BEing arrived safely at Columbo, before the Ship came to an Anchor, there came a Barge on board to carry the Commander ashore. But being late in the evening, and my Consort sick of an Ague and Fevor, we thought it better for us to stay until Morning, to have a day before us. The next morning we bid the Skipper farewel, and went ashore in the first Boat, going strait to the Court of Guard: where all the Soldiers came staring upon us, wondring to see White-men in Chingulay Habit. We asked them if there were no English-men among them; they told us, There were none, but that in the City there were several. A Trumpetter being hard by, who had formerly sailed in English Ships, hearing of us came and invited us to his Chamber, and entertained my Consort being sick of his Ague, in his own Bed.

Ordered to appear before the Governour.

This strange news of our arrival from Cande, was presently spread all about the City, and all the English men that were there immediatly come to bid us welcome out of our long Captivity. With whom we consulted how to come to speech of the Governour. Upon which one of them went and acquainted the Captain of the Guard of our being on shore. Which the Captain understanding went and informed the Governour thereof. Who sent us answer that to morrow we should come before him.

[p. 171.] *Treated by English there.*

After my Consort's Fit was over, our Countreymen and their Friends invited us abroad, to walk and see the City. We being barefoot and in the Chingulay Habit, with great long Beards, the People much wondred at us, and came flocking to see who and what we were; so that we had a

great Train of People about us as we walked in the Streets. After we had walked to and fro, and had seen the City, they carried us to their Land-Ladies House, where we were kindly treated both with Victuals and Drink; and returned to the Trumpetter's Chamber, as he had desired us, when we went out. In the Evening came a Boy from the Governor's House to tell us, that the Governor invited us to come to Supper at his House. But we having Dined late with our Countreymen and their Friends, had no room to receive the Governor's Kindness: and so Lodged that Night at the Trumpetters.

They come into the Governor's presence. His state.

The next Morning the Governor, whose Name was Ricklof Van Gons, Son of Ricklof Van Gons General of Batavia, sent for us to his House. Whom we found standing in a large and stately Room, paved with black and white Stones; and only the Commander, who brought us from Manaar, standing by him: who was to succeed him in the Government of that place. On the further side of the Room stood three of the chief Captains bare-headed. First, He bid us welcom out of our long Captivity, and told us, That we were free men, and that he should have been glad if he could have been an Instrument to redeem us sooner, having endeavoured as much for us as for his own People. For all which we thanked him heartily, telling him, We knew it to be true.

Matters the Governor enquired of.

The Governor perceiving I could speak the Portugueze Tongue, began to inquire concerning the Affairs of the King and Countrey very particularly, and oftentimes asked about such Matters as he himself knew better than I. To all his Questions my too much Experience inabled me to give a satisfactory Reply. Some of the most remarkable matters he demanded of me were these.

First, They inquired much about the reason and intent of our coming to Cuttiar. To which I answered them at large. Then they asked, If the King of Cande had any Issue? I told them, As report went, he had none. And, Who were the greatest in the Realm next to him? I answered, There were none of Renown left, the King had

destroyed them all. How the hearts of the People stood affected? I answered, Much against their King. He being so cruel. If we had never been brought into his presence? I told them, No, nor had ever had a near sight of him. What strength he had for War. I answered, Not well able to assault them, by reason the hearts of his People were not true to him. But that the strength of his Countrey consisted in Mountains and Woods, as much as in the People.

What Army he could raise upon occasion? I answered, I knew not well, but as I thought about Thirty Thousand men.

Why he would not make Peace with them, they so much sueing for it, and sending Presents to please him? I answered, I was not one of his Council, and knew not his meaning.

But they demanded of me, What I thought might be the reason or occasion of it? I answered, Living securely in the Mountains he feareth none; and for Traffick he regardeth it not.

[p. 172.] Which way was best and most secure to send Spyes or Intelligence to Cande? I told them, By the way that goeth to Jafniputtan, and by some of that Countrey People, who have great correspondence with the People of Neure-caulava, one of the King's Countries.

What I thought would become of that Land after this King's Decease? I told them, I thought, He having no Issue, it might fall into their hands.

How many English men had served the King, and what became of them? which I gave them an account of.

Whether I had any Acquaintance or Discourse with the great Men at Court? I answered, That I was too small to have any Friendship or Intimacy, or hold Discourse with them.

How the common People used to talk concerning them? I answered, They used much to commend their Justice and good Government in the Territories, and over the People belonging unto them.

Whether the King did take Counsel of any, or rule and act only by his own will and pleasure? I answered, I was a Stranger at Court, and how could I know that?

But, they asked further, What was my Opinion? I replied, He is so great, that there is none great enough to give him counsel.

Concerning the French, If the King knew not of their coming before they came? I answered, I thought, not, because their coming seemed strange and wonderful unto the People.

How they had proceeded in treating with the King? I answered, as shall be related hereafter; when I come to speak of the French detained in this Land.

If I knew any way or means to be used whereby the Prisoners in Cande might be set free? I told them, Means I knew none, unless they could do it by War.

Also they enquired about the manner of Executing those whom the King commands to be put to Death. They enquired also very curiously concerning the manner of our Surprizal, and Entertainment or Usage among them. And in what parts of the Land we had our Residence. And particularly, concerning my self: in what Parts of the Land, and how long in each I had dwelt, and after what manner I lived there, and of my Age; and in what Part or Place when God sends me home, I should take up my abode. To all which I gave answers.

They desired to know also, how many English men there were yet remaining behind. I gave them an account of Sixteen Men, and also of Eighteen Children born there. They much enquired concerning their Embassadors detained there, and of their behaviour and manner of living; also what the King allowed them for Maintenance; and concerning several Officers of Quality Prisoners there, and in general about all the rest of their Nation. And what Countenance the King shewed to those Dutch men that came running away to him? I answered, The Dutch Runnawayes the King looks upon as Rogues. And concerning the Portugueze they enquired also. I told them,

The Portugueze were about some fifty or threescore persons, and six or seven of those, Europe men born.

They asked me moreover, How we had made our Escape, and which way, and by what Towns we passed, and how long we were in our Journey? To all which I answered at large.

[p. 173.] Then the Governor asked me, What was my intent and desire? I told him, To have Passage to our own Nation at Fort S. GEORGE. To which he answered, That suddenly there would be no convenient opportunity. But his desire was that we would go with him to Batavia, where the General his Father would be very glad to see us. Which was not in our power to deny. Then he commanded to call a Dutch Captain, who was over the Countreys adjacent, subject to their jurisdiction. To him he gave Order to take us home to his House, and there well to entertain us, and also to send for a Tailor to make us Cloths. Upon which I told him, his Kindness shewn us already was more than we could have desired; it would be a sufficient favour now to supply us with a little Money upon a Bill to be paid at Fort S. George, that we might therewith Cloth our selves. To which he answered, That he would not deny me any Sum I should demand, and Cloth us upon his own account besides. For which we humbly thanked his Lordship: and so took our leaves of him; and went home with the aforesaid Captain.

The Governor desires him to go to Batavia.

Cloths them.

Sends them Money.

The Governor presently sent me Money by his Steward for Expences when we walked abroad in the City. We were nobly entertained without lack of any thing all the time we stayed at Columbo. My Consort's Ague increased, and grew very bad; but the chief Chirurgeon by order daily came to see him, and gave him such Potions of Physick, that by God's Blessing he soon after recovered.

And a Chirurgeon.

The Author writes a Letter to the English at Cande.

During my being here, I writ a Letter to my fellow Prisoners I left behind me in Cande. Wherein I described at large the way we went, so that they might plainly understand the same. Which I finding to be safe and secure, advised them, when God permitted, to steer the same

course. This Letter I left with the new Governor, and desired him when opportunity presented, to send it to them. Who said he would have it Copied out into Dutch for the benefit of their Prisoners there, and promised to send both together.

The former Demands and Answers penned down in Portugueze by the Governor's order.

The Governor seemed to be pleased with my aforesaid Relations, and Replies to his Demands, insomuch that he afterwards appointed one that well understood Portugueze to write down all the former particulars. Which being done, for further satisfaction they brought me Pen and Paper, desiring me to write the same that I had related to them in English, and sign it with my hand, which I was not unwilling to do.

They Embark for Batavia.

Upon the Governor's departure there were great and royal Feasts made. To which he always sent for me. Here were exceeding great Varieties of Food, Wine, and sweet Meats, and Musick. Some two and twenty days after our Arrival at Columbo, the Governor went on board ship to sail to Batavia, and took us with him. At which time there were many Scores of Ordnance fired. We Sailed all the way with Flag and Penant under it, being out both Day and Night, in a Ship of about Eight hundred Tuns Burthen; and a Soldier standing armed Sentinel at the Cabin door both Night and Day. He so far favoured me, that I was in his own Mess, and eat at his Table. Where every Meal we had Ten or Twelve Dishes of Meat with variety of Wine. We set Sail from Columbo the Four and twentieth of November, and the Fifth of January anchored in Batavia Road.

[p. 174.] *His friendly Reception at Batavia with the Governor.*

As we came to greater Men so we found greater Kindness; for the General of Batavia's Reception of us, and favours to us exceeded (if possible) those of the Governor his Son. As soon as we came before him, seeming to be very glad, he took me by the hand and bad us heartily welcom, thanking God on our behalf that had appeared so miraculously in our deliverance; telling us withal, That he had omitted no means for our Redemption, and that if it had layd in his Power, we should long before have

had our Liberty. I humbly thanked his Excellency, and said, That I knew it to be true; and that tho it missed of an effect, yet his good will was not the less, neither were our Obligations, being ever bound to thank and pray for him.

Furnishes them with the Cloths and Money.

Then his own Tailor was ordered to take measure of us, and furnish us with two Sutes of Apparel. He gave us also Moneys for Tobacco and Betel, and to spend in the City. All the time we stayed there, our Quarters were in the Captain of the Castle's House. And oftentimes the General would send for me to his own Table, at which sat only himself and Lady; who was all bespangled with Diamonds and Pearls. Sometimes his Sons and Daughters-in-Law, with some other Strangers did eat with him; the Trumpet sounding all the while. We finding our selves thus kindly entertained, and our Habits changed, saw, that we were no more Captives in Cande, nor yet Prisoners elsewhere; therefore cut off our Beards which we had brought with us out of our Captivity; for until then we cut them not; God having rolled away the reproach of Cande from us.

Here also they did examine me again concerning the passages of Cande, causing all to be writ down which I said, and requiring my hand to the same. Which I refused, as I had done before, and upon the same account, because I understood not the Dutch Language. Whereupon they persuaded me to write a Certificate upon another Paper under my Hand, that what I had informed them of, was true. Which I did. This Examination was taken by two Secretaries, who were appointed to demand Answers of me concerning the King of Ceilon and his Countrey: which they committed to Writing from my mouth.

Offer him passage in their Ships.

The General's youngest Son being to go home Admiral of the Ships this year, the General kindly offered us passage upon their Ships, promising me Entertainment at his Son's own Table, as the Governor of Columbo had given me in my Voyage hither. Which offer he made me, he said, That I might better satisfie their Company in Holland

concerning the Affairs of Ceilon, which they would be very glad to know.

At this time came two English Merchants hither from Bantam, with whom the General was pleased to permit us to go. But when we came to Bantam, the English Agent very kindly entertained us, and being not willing, that we should go to the Dutch for Passage, since God had brought us to our own Nation, ordered our Passage in the good Ship Cæsar lying then in the Road, bound for England, the Land of our Nativity, and our long wished for Port. Where by the good Providence of God we arrived safe in the Month of September.

Come home from Bantam in the Cæsar.

Chap. XIII.

[p. 175.]

Concerning some other Nations, and chiefly Europæans, that now live in this Island. Portugueze, Dutch.

HAving said all this concerning the English People, it may not be unacceptable to give some account of other Whites, who either voluntarily or by constraint Inhabit there. And they are, besides the English already spoken of, Portugueze, Dutch, and French. But before I enter upon Discourse of any of these, I shall detain my Readers a little with another Nation inhabiting in this Land, I mean, the Malabars; both because they are Strangers and derive themselves from another Countrey, and also because I have had occasion to mention them sometimes in this Book.

These Malabars then are voluntary Inhabitants in this Island, and have a Countrey here; tho the Limits of it are but small: it lyes to the Northward of the King's Coasts betwixt him and the Hollander. Corunda Wy River parts it from the King's Territories. Thro this Countrey we passed, when we made our Escape. The Language they speak is peculiar to themselves, so that a Chingulays cannot understand them, nor they a Chingulays.

Concerning Malabars that inhabit in this Island. Their Territories.

Their Prince. They have a Prince over them, called Coilat wannea, that is independent either upon the King of Cande on one hand, or the Dutch on the other, only that he pays an acknowledgment to the Hollanders. Who have endeavoured to subdue him by Wars, but they cannot yet do it: yet they have brought him to be a Tributary to them, viz. To pay a certain rate of Elephants per annum. The King and this Prince maintain a Friendship and Correspondence together. And when the King lately sent an Army against the Hollanders, this Prince let them pass thro his Countrey; and went himself in Person to direct the King's People, when they took one or two Forts from them.

The People how governed. The People are in great subjection under him: they pay him rather greater Taxes than the Chingulays do to their King. But he is nothing so cruel. He Victualleth his Soldiers during the time they are upon the Guard, either about the Palace or abroad in the Wars: they are now fed at his Charge: whereas 'tis contrary in the King's Countrey; for the Chingulay Soldiers bear their own Expences. He hath a certain rate out of every Land that is sown, which is to maintain his Charge.

Their Commodities and Trade. The Commodities of this Countrey are, Elephants, Hony, Butter, Milk, Wax, Cows, wild Cattel: of the three last great abundance. As for Corn it is more scarce than in the Chingulays Countrey; neither have they any Cotton. But they come up into Neure Caulava yearly with great droves of Cattel, and lade both Corn and Cotton. And to buy these they bring up Cloth made of the same Cotton, which they can make better than the Chingulays: also they bring Salt and Salt Fish, and brass Basons, and other Commodities, which they get of the Hollander: because the King permits not his People to have any manner of Trade with the Hollander: so they receive the Dutch Commodities at the second hand.

Concerning the Portugueze. [p. 176.] We now proceed unto the Europæan Nations. And we begin with the Portugueze, who deserve the first place, being the oldest Standers there.

Their Power and Interest in this Island formerly. The Sea-Coasts round about the Island were formerly

under their Power and Government, and so held for many years. In which time many of the Natives became Christians, and learned the Portugueze Tongue. Which to this day is much spoken in that Land: for even the King himself understands and speaks it excellently well. The Portugueze have often made Invasions throughout the whole Land, even to Cande the Metropolis of the Island. Which they have burnt more than once, with the Palace and the Temples: and so formidable have they been, that the King hath been forced to turn Tributary to them, paying them three Elephants per Annum. However the middle of this Island, viz. Cond' Uda, standing upon Mountains, and so strongly fortified by Nature, could never be brought into subjection by them, much less by any other, but hath always been under the Power of their own Kings.

The great Wars between the King and them, force him to send in for the Hollanders.

There were great and long Wars between the King of Ceilon and the Portugueze: and many of the brave Portugal Generals are still in memory among them: of whom I shall relate some passages presently. Great vexation they gave the King by their irruptions into his Dominions, and great Mischiefs they did him, tho oftentimes with great loss on their side. Great Battels have been lost and won between them, with great destruction of Men on both parts. But being greatly distressed at last, he sent and called in the Hollander to his aid. By whose seasonable assistance together with his own Arms, the King totally dispossessed the Portugueze, and routed them out of the Land. Whose rooms the Dutch now occupy, paying themselves for their pains.

The King invites the Portugueze to live in his Countrey.

At the Surrender of Columbo, which was the last place the Portugueze held, the King made Proclamation, That all Portugueze, which would come unto him, should be well entertained. Which accordingly many did, with their whole Families, Wives, Children, and Servants, choosing rather to be under him than the Dutch, and divers of them are alive to this day, living in Conde Uda; and others are born there. To all whom he alloweth monthly maintenance; yea also, and Provisions for their Slaves and

Their Privileges.

Servants, which they brought up with them. This People are privileged to Travel the Countreys above all other Whites, as knowing they will not run away. Also when there was a Trade at the Sea Ports, they were permitted to go down with Commodities, clear from all Customs and Duties. Besides these who came voluntarily to live under the King, there are others whom he took Prisoners. The Portugueze of the best Quality the King took into his Service, who are most of them since cut off according to his kind Custom towards his Courtiers. The rest of them have allowance from that King, and follow Husbandry, Trading about the Countrey, Stilling Rack, keeping Taverns; the Women sew Womens Wastcoats, the Men sew Mens Doublets for Sale.

Their Generals.

I shall now mention some of the last Portugueze Generals, all within this present King's Reign, with some passages concerning them.

[p. 177.] *Constantine Sa.*

Constantine Sa, General of the Portugals Army in Ceilon, when the Portugueze had footing in this Land, was very successful against this present King. He run quite thro the Island unto the Royal City it self, which he set on Fire with the Temples therein. Insomuch that the King sent a Message to him signifying, that he was willing to become his Tributary. But he proudly sent him word back again, That that would not serve his turn; He should not only be Tributary, but Slave to his Master the King of Portugal. This the King of Cande could not brook, being of an high Stomach, and said, He would fight to the last drop of Blood, rather than stoop to that. There were at this time many Commanders in the Generals Army who were natural Chingulays; with these the King dealt secretly, assuring them that if they would turn on his side, he would gratifie them with very ample Rewards. The King's Promises took effect; and they all revolted from the General. The King now daring not to trust the Revolted, to make tryal of their Truth and Fidelity, put them in the forefront of his Battel, and commanded them to give the first Onset. The King at that time might have

Twenty or Thirty thousand Men in the Field. Who taking their opportunity, set upon the Portugueze Army, and gave them such a total overthrow, that as they report in that Countrey not one of them escaped. The General seeing this Defeat, and himself like to be taken, called his Black Boy to give him water to drink, and snatching the Knife that stuck by his Boy's side, stabbed himself with it.

He loses a Victory and stabs himself.

Another General after him was Lewis Tisséra. He swore he would make the King eat Coracan Tallipa, that is a kind of hasty Pudding, made of Water and the Coracan Flower; which is reckoned the worst fare of that Island. The King afterwards took this Lewis Tisséra, and put him in Chains in the Common Goal, and made him eat of the same fare. And there is a Ballad of this Man and this passage, Sung much among the common People there to this day.

Lewis Tisséra served as he intended to serve the King.

Their next General was Simon Caree, a Natural Chingulays, but Baptized. He is said to be a great Commander. When he had got any Victory over the Chingulays, he did exercise great Cruelty. He would make the Women beat their own Children in their Mortars, wherein they used to beat their Corn.

Simon Caree, of a cruel Mind.

Gaspar Figari, had a Portugueze Father and Chingulays Mother. He was the last General they had in this Countrey. And a brave Soldier: but degenerated not from his Predecessors in Cruelty. He would hang up the People by the heels, and split them down the middle. He had his Axe wrapped in a white Cloth, which he carried with him into the Field to execute those he suspected to be false to him, or that ran away. Smaller Malefactors he was merciful to, cutting off only their right hands. Several whom he hath so served, are yet living, whom I have seen.

Gaspar Figari Splits Men in the middle.

This Gaspar came up one day to fight against the King, and the King resolved to fight him. The General fixed his Camp at Motaupul in Hotteracourly. And in order to the King's coming down to meet the Portugueze, Preparation was made for him at a place called Cota coppul, which might be Ten or Twelve miles distant from the

His Policy.

Portugueze Army. Gaspar knew of the place by some [p. 178.] Spies; but of the time of the Kings coming he was informed, that it was a day sooner than really it happened. According to this information he resolved privatly to march thither, and come upon him in the night unawares. And because he knew the King was a Polititian, and would have his Spies abroad to watch the Generals motion, the General sent for all the Drummers and Pipers to Play and Dance in his Camp, that thereby the Kings Spies might not suspect that he was upon the March, but merry and secure in his Camp. In the mean time, having set his People all to their Dancing and Drumming, he left a small party there to secure the Baggage, and away he goes in the night with his Army, and arrives to Catta coppul, intending to fall upon the King. But when he came thither, he found the King was not yet come: but into the Kings Tents he went, and sits him down in the seat appointed for the King. *Gives the King a great overthrow.* Here he heard where the King was with his Camp: which being not far off, he marched thither in the morning and fell upon him: and gave him one of the greatest Routs that ever he had. The King himself made a narrow escape; for had it not been for a Dutch Company, which the Dutch had sent a little before for his Guard, who after his own Army fled, turned head and stopped the Portugueze for a while, he had been seized. The Portugueze General was so near the King, that he called after him, Houre, that is Brother, stay, I would speak with you, but the King being got a top of the Hills; was safe. And so Gaspar retyred to his Quarters.

Looses Columbo, and taken Prisoner. This Gallant expert Commander, that had so often vanquished the Chingulays, could not cope with another Europæan Nation. For when the Hollanders came to beseige Columbo, he was sent against them with his Army. They told him before he went, that now he must look to himself, for he was not now to Fight against Chingulays, but against Soldiers, that would look him in the Face. But he made nothing of them, and said, he would serve them as he had served the Chingulays. The Hollanders

met him, and they fought: but had before contrived a Stratagem, which he was not aware of: they had placed some Field-pieces in the Rear of their Army. And after a small skirmish they retreated as if they had been worsted; which was only to draw the Portugueze nearer upon their Guns. Which when they had brought them in shot of, they opened on a suddain to the right and left, and fired upon them, and so routed them, and drove them into Columbo. This Gaspar was in the City when it was taken, and himself taken Prisoner. Who was afterwards sent to Goa, where he died. And so much of the Portugueze.

The Dutch the occasion of their coming in.

The Dutch succeeded the Portugueze. The first occasion of whose coming into this Land was, that the present King being wearied and overmatched with the Portugueze, sent for them into his aid long ago from Batavia. And they did him good service, but they feathered their own nests by the means, and are now possessed of all the Sea-Coasts, and considerable Territories thereunto adjoyning.

The King their implacable enemy, and why!

The King of the Countrey keeps up an irreconcileable War against them. The occasion of which is said to be this. Upon the beseiging of Columbo, which was about the year MDCLV. it was concluded upon between the King and the Dutch, that their Enemies the Portugueze being expelled thence, the City was to be delivered up by the Dutch into the Kings hands. Whereupon the King himself in person with all his Power went down to this War to assist and joyn with the Hollanders, without whose help, as it is generally reported, the Dutch could not have taken the City. But being surrendred to them, and they gotten into it, the King lay looking, when they would come according to their former Articles, and put him into possession of it. Mean while they turned on a suddain & fell upon him, contrary to his expectation (whether the King had first broke word with them,) and took Bag and Baggage from him: Which provoked him in so high a manner, that he maintains a constant hostility against them, detains their Ambassadours, and forbids his People upon pain of Death to hold Commerce with them. [p. 179.]

The dammage the King does them.

So that the Dutch have enough to do to maintain those places which they have. Oftentimes the King at unawares falls upon them and does them great spoil, sometimes giving no quarter, but cutting off the Heads of whomsoever he catches, which are brought up, and hung upon Trees near the City, many of which I have seen. Sometimes he brings up his Prisoners alive, and keeps them by the Highway sides, a spectacle to the People in memory of his Victories over them: many of these are now living there in a most miserable condition, having but a very small Allowance from him; so that they are forced to beg, and it is a favour when they can get leave to go abroad and do it.

The means they use to obtain Peace with him.

The Dutch therefore not being able to deal with him by the Sword, being unacquainted with the Woods and the Chingulays manner of fighting, do endeavour for Peace with him all they can, dispatching divers Embassadours to him, and sending great Presents, by carrying Letters to him in great State wrapped up in Silks wrought with Gold and Silver, bearing them all the way upon their Heads in token of great Honour, honouring him with great and high Titles, subscribing themselves his Subjects and Servants, telling him the Forts they build are out of Loyalty to him, to secure his Majesties Country from Forraign Enemies; and that when they come up into his Countrey, tis to seek maintenance. And by these Flatteries and submissions they sometimes obtain to keep what they have gotten from him, and sometimes nothing will prevail, he neither regarding their Embassadours nor receiving the Presents, but taking his opportunities on a suddain of setting on them by his Forces.

How he took Bibligom Fort.

His Craft and Success in taking Bibligom Fort in the County of Habberagon, may deserve to be mentioned. The Chingulays had beseiged the Fort: and knowing the Dutch had no Water there; but all they had was conveyed thro a Trench wrought under Ground from a River near by, they beseiged them so close, and planted so many Guns towards the mouth of this Trench, that they could not come

out to fetch Water. They cut down Wood also, and made bundles of Faggots therewith, which they piled up round about their Fort at some distance, and every night removed them nearer and nearer. So that their works became higher than the Fort. Their main intent by these Faggot-works, was to have brought them just under the Fort, and then to have set it on Fire, the Walls of the Fort being for the most part of Wood. There was also a Bo-gahah Tree growing just by the Fort: on which they planted Guns and shot right down into them. The houses in the Fort being Thatched, they shot also Fire-Arrows among [p. 180.] them: So that the beseiged were forced to pull off the Straw from their Houses, which proved a great inconvenience to them being a Rainy Season: so that they lay open to the weather and cold. The Dutch finding themselves in this extremity desired quarter which was granted them at the Kings mercy. They came out and laid down their Arms, all but the Officers, who still wore theirs. None were plundered of any thing they had about them. The Fort they demolished to the Ground, and brought up the Four Guns to the Kings Palace; where they among others stand mounted in very brave Carriages before his Gate.

The Dutch were brought two or three days journey from the Fort into the Countrey they call Owvah: and there were placed with a Guard about them, having but a small allowance appointed them; insomuch that afterwards having spent what they had, they perished for Hunger. So that of about ninety Hollanders taken Prisoners, there were not above five and twenty living when I came away.

Several Embassadors detained by the King.

There are several white Embassadours, besides other Chingulay People, by whom the Dutch have sent Letters and presents to the King, whom he keeps from returning back again. They are all bestowed in several houses with Soldiers to Guard them: And tho they are not in Chains, yet none is permitted to come to them or speak with them; it not being the custom of that Land for any to come to the speech of Embassadours. Their allowance is brought

them ready dressed out of the Kings Palace, being all sorts of Varieties, that the Land affords. After they have remained in this condition some years, the Guards are somewhat slackned, and the Soldiers that are to watch them grow remiss in their Duty; so that now the Ambassadours walk about the Streets, and any body goes to their houses and talks with them: that is, after they have been so long in the Countrey, that all their news is stale and grown out of date. But this liberty is only wincked at, not allowed. When they have been there a great while, the King usually gives them Slaves, both men and women, the more to alienate their minds from their own Country, and that they may stay with him with the more willingness and content. For his design is, to make them, if he can, inclinable to serve him. As he prevailed with one of these Embassadours to do for the love of a woman. The manner of it I shall relate immediatly.

There are five Embassadors whom he hath thus detained since my coming there; of each of whom I shall speak a little, besides two, whom he sent away voluntarily.

The first Embassador there detained since the Authors remembrance.

The first of these was sent up by the Hollanders some time before the Rebellion against the King; Who had detained him in the City. After the Rebellion the King sent for him to him to the Mountain of Gauluda whither he had retreated from the Rebels. The King not long after removed to Digligy, where he now keeps his Court, but left the Embassador at Gauluda remaining by himself, with a Guard of Soldiers. In this uncomfortable condition, upon a dismal Mountain void of all society, he continued many days. During which time a Chingulay and his Wife falls out, and she being discontented with her Husband to escape from him flies to this Embassadors house for shelter. The woman being somewhat beautiful, he fell [p. 181.] greatly in love with her. And to obtain her he sent to the King, and profered him his service, if he would permit him to enjoy her company. Which the King was very willing and glad to do, having now obtained that which he had long aimed at, to get him into his service.

Hereupon the King sent him word that he granted his desire, and withall sent to both of them rich Apparel, and to her many Jewels and Bracelets of Gold and Silver. Suddainly after there was a great House prepared from them in the City, furnished with all kind of furniture out of the Kings Treasure and at his proper cost and charges. Which being finished he was brought away from his Mountain into it. But from thence forward never saw his Wife more, according to the custom of Court. And he was entertained in the Kings Service, and made Courtalbad, which is cheif over all the Smiths and Carpenters in Conde Uda. Some short time after the King about to send his Forces against a Fort of the Hollanders, called Arundery built by them in the year MDCLXVI. He tho in the Kings service, yet being a well wisher to his Countrey, had privatly sent a Letter of advice to the Dutch concerning the Kings intention and purpose, an Answer to which was intercepted and brought to the King, wherein thanks was returned him from the Dutch for his Loyalty to his own Nation, and that they would accordingly prepare for the Kings assault. The King having this Letter, sent for him, and bad him read it, which he excused pretending it was so written, that he could not. Whereupon immediatly another Dutchman was sent for, who read it before the King, and told him the Contents of it. At which it is reported the King should say, Beia pas mettandi hitta pas ettandi, That is, He serves me for fear, and them for love; or his fear is here and his love is there; And forth with commanded to carry him forth to Execution: which was accordingly done upon him. Tis generally said, that this Letter was framed by some body on purpose to ruine him.

His preferment, and death.

The next Ambassador after him was Hendrick Draak; a fine Gentleman, and good friend of the English. This was he who was Commissioned in the year MDCLXIV. to intercede with the King on the behalf of the English, that they might have liberty to go home, and with him they were made to beleive they should return: which happened at the same time that Sir Edward Winter sent his

The next Embassador dying there his Body is sent down to Columbo in great State.

Letters to the King for us. Which I have already spoke of in the fifth Chapter of this Part. This Embassador was much in the Kings favour, with whom he was detained till he died. And then the King sent his Body down to Columbo carried in a Pallenkine with great State and Lamention, and accompanied with his great Commanders, and many Soldiers.

The third Embassador. Gets away by his resolution.

Sometime after the loss of the Fort of Arrundery which was about the year MDCLXX. the Dutch sent up another Embassador to see if he could obtain a Peace, which was the first time their Embassadors began to bring up Letters upon their heads in token of extraordinary reverence. This man was much favoured by the King, and was entertained with great Ceremony and Honour, cloathing him in Chingulay Habit, Which I never knew done before nor since. But being weary of his long stay, and of the delays that were made; having often made motions to go [p. 182.] down, and still he was deferred from day to day, at length he made a resolution, that if he had not leave by such a day, he would go without it; saying that the former Embassador who died there, died like a Woman, but it should be seen that he would die like a man. At the appointed day, he girt on his Sword, and repaired to the Gates of the Kings Palace, pulling off his Hat, and making his obeysance as if the King were present before him, and thanking him for the Favours and Honours he had done him, and so took his leave. And there being some Englishmen present, he generously gave them some money to drink his Health; and in this resolute manner departed, with some two or three Black-servants that attended on him. The upshot of which was, that the King, not being willing to prevent his resolution by Violence, sent one of his Noblemen to conduct him down; and so he had the good fortune to get home safely to Columbo.

The fourth was of a milder Nature.

The next Ambassador after him was John Baptista. A Man of a milder Spirit than the former, endeavouring to please and shew compliance with the King. He obtained many Favours of the King, and several Slaves both Men

and Women. And living well with Servants about him, is the more patient in waiting the King's leisure till he pleaseth to send him home.

The fifth brings a Lion to the King as a Present.

The last Embassador that came up while I was there, brought up a Lion: which the Dutch thought would be the most acceptable Present that they could send to the King, as indeed did all others. It was but a Whelp. But the King did never receive it, supposing it not so famous as he had heard by Report Lions were. This Man with his Lion was brought up and kept in the County of Oudapollat, near Twenty Miles from the King's Court. Where he remained about a year, in which time the Lion died. The Embassador being weary of living thus like a Prisoner with a Guard always upon him, often attempted to go back, seeing the King would not permit him Audience. But the Guards would not let him. Having divers times made disturbances in this manner to get away home, the King commanded to bring him up into the City to an House that was prepared for him, standing some distance from the Court. Where having waited many days, and seeing no sign of Audience, he resolved to make his Appearance before the King by force, which he attempted to do, when the King was abroad taking his Pleasure. The Soldiers of his Guard immediately ran, and acquainted the Noblemen at Court of his coming, who delayed not to acquaint the King thereof. Whereupon the King gave Order forthwith to meet him, and where they met him, in that same place to stop him till further order. And there they kept him, not letting him go either forward or backward. In this manner and place he remained for three days, till the King sent Order that he might return to his House whence he came. This the King did to tame him. But afterwards he was pleased to call him before him. And there he remained when I left the Countrey, maintained with Plenty of Provisions at the King's charge.

The number of Dutch there.

The number of Dutch now living there may be about Fifty or Sixty. Some whereof are Ambassadors, some Prisoners of War, some Runaways, and Malefactors that

have escaped the hand of Justice and got away from the Dutch Quarters. To all whom are allotted respective allowances, but the Runaways have the least, the King not loving such, tho giving them entertainment.

[p. 183.] *They follow their Vice of Drinking.*

The Dutch here love Drink, and practise their proper Vice in this Countrey. One who was a great Man in the Court, would sometimes come into the King's Presence half disguised with Drink, which the King often past over; but once asked him, Why do you thus disorder your self, that when I send for you about my Business, you are not in a capacity to serve me? He boldly replied, That as soon as his Mother took away her Milk from him, she supplied it with Wine, and ever since, saith he, I have used my self to it. With this answer the King seemed to be pleased. And indeed the rest of the white Men are generally of the same temper: insomuch that the Chingulays have a saying, That Wine is as natural to white Men, as Milk to Children.

The Chingulays prejudiced against the Dutch, and why.

All differences of Ranks and Qualities are disregarded among those Chingulay People that are under the Dutch. Neither do the Dutch make any distinction between the Hondrews, and the low and Inferior Casts of Men: and permit them to go in the same Habit, and sit upon Stools, as well as the best Hondrews; and the lower Ranks may eat and intermarry with the higher without any Punishment, or any Cognizance taken of it. Which is a matter that the Chingulays in Cond' Uda are much offended with the Dutch for; and makes them think, that they themselves are sprung from some mean Rank and Extract. And this prejudiceth this People against them, that they have not such an Esteem for them. For to a Chingulay his Rank and Honour is as dear as his life. And thus much of the Dutch.

Chap. XIV.

Concerning the French. With some Enquiries what should make the King detain white Men as he does. And how the Christian Religion is maintained among the Christians there.

The French come hither with a Fleet.

ABout the year MDCLXXII, or LXXIII, there came Fourteen Sail of great Ships from the King of France to settle a Trade here. Monsieur De la Hay Admiral, put in with this Fleet, into the Port of Cottiar. From whence he sent up Three men by way of Embassy to the King of Cande. Whom he entertained very Nobly, and gave every one of them a Chain of Gold about their Necks, and a Sword all inlay'd with Silver, and a Gun. And afterwards sent one of them down to the Admiral with his Answer. Which encouraged him to send up others: that is, an Ambassador and six more. Who were to reside there till the return of the Fleet back again, being about to Sail to the Coast.

To whom the King sends Provisions, and helps them to build a Fort.

To the Fleet the King sent all manner of Provision, as much as his Ability could afford: and not only permitted but assisted them to build a Fort in the Bay. Which they manned partly with their own People, and partly with Chingulays, whom the King sent and lent the French. But the Admiral finding that the King's Provisions, and what else could be bought in the Island would not suffice for so great a Fleet, was forced to depart for the Coast of Coromandel; promising the King, by the Ambassador [p. 184.] afore-mentioned, speedily to return again. So leaving some of his Men with the King's Supplies to keep the Fort till his return, he weighed Anchor, and set sail. But never came back again. Some reported they were destroyed by a Storm, others by the Dutch. The Admiral had sent up to the King great Presents, but he would not presently receive them, that it might not seem as if he wanted any

thing, or were greedy of things brought him: but since the French returned not according to their promise, he scorned ever after to receive them. At first he neglected the Present out of State, and ever since out of Anger and Indignation. This French Fort at Cotiar was a little after easily taken by the Dutch.

The French Ambassador offends the King.

But to return to the Embassador and his Retinue. He rode up from Cotiar on Horseback, which was very Grand in that Countrey. And being with his Company gotten somewhat short of the City, was appointed there to stay, until an House should be prepared in the City for their Entertainment. When it was signified to him that their House was ready for their Reception, they were conducted forward by certain Noblemen sent by the King, carrying with them a Present for his Majesty. The Ambassador came riding on Horse-back into the City. Which the Noblemen observing, dissuaded him from, and advised him to walk on foot; telling him, It was not allowable, nor the Custom. But he regarding them not, rode by the Palace Gate. It offended the King, but he took not much notice of it for the present.

He refuses to wait longer for Audience.

The Ambassador alighted at his Lodgings. Where he and his Companions were nobly Entertained, Provisions sent them ready Dressed out of the King's Palace three time a day, great Plenty they had of all things the Countrey afforded. After some time the King sent to him to come to his Audience. In great State he was Conducted to the Court, accompanied with several of the Nobles that were sent to him. Coming thus to the Court in the Night, as it is the King's usual manner at that Season to send for foreign Ministers, and give them Audience, he waited there some small time, about two hours or less, the King not yet admitting him. Which he took in such great disdain, and for such an affront, that he was made to stay at all, much more so long, that he would tarry no longer but went towards his Lodging. Some about the Court observing this, would have stopped him by Elephants that stood in the Court, turning them before the Gate thro which he

was to pass. But he would not so be stopped, but laid his hand upon his Sword, as if he meant to make his way by the Elephants; the People seeing his resolution, called away the Elephants and let him pass.

Which more displeased the King. Clapt in Chains.

As soon as the King heard of it, he was highly displeased; insomuch that he commanded some of his Officers, that they should go and beat them, and clap them in Chains: which was immediately done to all excepting the two Gentlemen, that were first sent up by the Admiral: for these were not touched, the King reckoning they did not belong unto this Ambassador; neither were they now in his Company; excepting that one of them in the Combustion got a few Blows. They were likewise disarmed, and so have continued ever since. Upon this the Gentlemen, Attendants upon the Embassador, made their Com- [p. 185.] plaints to the Captain of their Guards, excusing themselves, and laying all the blame upon their Ambassador; urging, That they were his Attendants, and a Soldier must obey his Commander and go where he appoints him. Which sayings being told the King, he approved thereof, and commanded them out of Chains, the Ambassador still remaining in them, and so continued for six Months. After which he was released of his Chains by means of the Intreaties his own men made to the great Men in his behalf.

The rest of the French refuse to dwell with the Ambassador.

The rest of the Frenchmen, seeing how the Embassador's imprudent carriage had brought them to this misery, refused any longer to dwell with him. And each of them by the King's Permission dwells by himself in the City; being maintained at the King's charge. Three of these, whose Names were Monsieur Du Plessy, Son to a Gentleman of note in France, and Jean Bloom, the third whose Name I cannot tell, but was the Ambassador's Boy, the King appointed to look to his best Horse, kept in the Palace. This Horse sometime after died, as it is supposed of old Age. Which extremely troubled the King; and imagining they had been instrumental to his Death by their carelessness, he commanded two of them, Monsieur Du

Plessy and Jean Bloom to be carried away into the Mountains, and kept Prisoners in Chains, where they remained when I came thence.

The rest of them follow Employments; some whereof Still Rack, and keep the greatest Taverns in the City.

The King uses means to reconcile the French to their Ambassador.

Lately, a little before I came from the Island; the King understanding the disagreements and differences that were still kept on foot betwixt the Ambassador and the rest of his Company, disliked it and used these means to make them Friends. He sent for them all, the Ambassador and the rest, and told them, That it was not seemly for Persons as they were at such a distance from their own Countrey, to quarrel and fall out; and that if they had any love for God, or the King of France, or himself, that they should go home with the Ambassador and agree and live together. They went back together, not daring to disobey the King. And as soon as they were at home, the King sent a Banquet after them of Sweetmeats and Fruits to eat together. They did eat the King's Banquet, but it would not make the Reconcilement. For after they had done, each man went home and dwelt in their own Houses as they did before. It was thought that this carriage would offend the King, and that he would at least take away their Allowance. And it is probable before this time the King hath taken Vengeance on them. But the Ambassador's carriage is so imperious, that they would rather venture whatsoever might follow than be subject to him. And in this case I left them.

The Author acquaints the French Ambassador in London, with the condition of these Men.

Since my return to England, I presumed by a Letter to inform the French Ambassador then in London of the abovesaid Matters, thinking my self bound in Conscience and Christian Charity to do my endeavour, that their Friends knowing their Condition, may use means for their Deliverance. The Letter ran thus,

[p. 186.]

THese may acquaint your Excellency, That having been a Prisoner in the Island of Ceilon, under the King of that Countrey near Twenty years; by

means of this my long detainment there, I became acquainted with the French Ambassador, and the other Gentlemen his Retinue; being in all Eight Persons; who was sent to Treat with the said King in the Year MDCLXXII. by Monsieur De la Hay, who came with a Fleet to the Port of Cotiar or Trinkemalay, from whence he sent these Gentlemen. And knowing that from thence it is scarce possible to send any Letters or Notice to other Parts, for in all the time of my Captivity I could never send one word, whereby my Friends here might come to hear of my Condition, until with one more I made an Escape, leaving Sixteen English men yet there; The Kindness I have received from those French Gentlemen, as also my Compassion for them, being detained in the same place with me, hath obliged and constrained me, to presume to trouble your Lordship with this Paper; not knowing any other means whereby I might convey Notice to their Friends and Relations, which is all the Service I am able to perform for them. The Ambassador's Name I know not; there is a Kinsman of his called Monsieur le Serle, and a yong Gentleman called Monsieur du Plessey, and another named Monsieur la Roche. The rest by Name I know not. And then an account of them is given according to what I have mentioned above. I shall not presume to be farther tedious to your Honour; craving Pardon for my boldness, which my Affection to those Gentlemen being detained in the same Land with me hath occasioned. Concerning whom if your Lordship be pleased farther to be informed, I shall be both willing and ready to be,

Yours, &c.

The Ambassador upon the receipt of this, desired to speak with me. Upon whom I waited, and he after some Speech with me told me he would send word into France of it, and gave me Thanks for this my Kindness to his Countreymen.

An inquiry into the reason of this King's detaining Europæans.

It may be worth some inquiry, what the reason might be, that the King detains the Europæan People as he does.

It cannot be out of hope of Profit or Advantage; for they are so far from bringing him any, that they are a very great Charge, being all maintained either by him or his People. Neither is it in the power of Money to redeem any one, for that he neither needs nor values. Which makes me conclude, it is not out of Profit, nor Envy or ill will, but out of Love and Favour, that he keeps them, delighting in their Company, and to have them ready at his Command. For he is very ambitious of the Service of these Men, and winks at many of their failings, more than he uses to do towards his Natural Subjects. As may appear from a Company of White Soldiers he hath, who upon their Watch used to be very negligent, one lying Drunk here and another there. Which remisness in his own Soldiers he would scarce have indured, but it would have cost them their lives. But with these he useth more Craft than Severity to make them more watchful.

The King's gentleness towards his white Soldiers.

[p. 187.]

These Soldiers are under two Captains, the one a Dutch man and the other a Portugueze. They are appointed to Guard one of the King's Magazines, where they always keep Sentinel both by Day and Night. This is a pretty good distance from the Court, and here it was the King contrived their Station, that they might swear and swagger out of his hearing, and that no body might disturb them, nor they no body. The Dutch Captain lyes at one side of the Gate, and the Portugueze at the other.

They watch at his Magazine.

Once the King to employ these his white Soldiers, and to honour them by letting them see what an assurance he reposed in them, sent one of his Boys thither to be kept Prisoner, which they were very Proud of. They kept him two years, in which time he had learnt both the Dutch and Portugueze Language. Afterwards the King retook the Boy into his Service, and within a short time after Executed him. But the King's reason in sending this Boy to be kept by these Soldiers was, probably not as they supposed, and as the King himself outwardly pretended, viz. To shew how much he confided in them, but out of Design to make them look the better to their Watch, which their

How craftily the King corrected their Negligence.

Debauchery made them very remiss in. For the Prisoners Hands only were in Chains, and not his Legs; so that his possibility of running away, having his Legs at liberty, concerned them to be circumspect and wakeful. And they knew if he had escaped it were as much as their lives were worth. By this crafty and kind way did the King correct the negligence of his white Soldiers.

The King's Inclinations are towards white Men.

Indeed his inclinations are much towards the Europæans; making them his great Officers, accounting them more faithful and trusty than his own People. With these he often discourses concerning the Affairs of their Countreys, and promotes them to places far above their Ability, and sometimes their Degree or Desert. And indeed all over the Land they do bear as it were a natural respect and reverence to White Men, in as much as Black, they hold to be inferior to White. And they say, the Gods are White, and that the Souls of the Blessed after the Resurrection shall be White; and therefore, that Black is a rejected and accursed colour.

The colour of white honoured in this Land.

Their Privilege above the Natives.

And as further signs of the King's favour to them, there are many Privileges, which White Men have and enjoy, as tolerated or allowed them from the King; which I suppose may proceed from the aforesaid Consideration; as, to wear any manner of Apparel, either Gold, Silver, or Silk, Shoes and Stockings, a shoulder Belt and Sword; their Houses may be whitened with Lime, and many such like things, all which the Chingulayes are not permitted to do.

The King loves to send and talk with them.

He will also sometimes send for them into his Presence, and discourse familiarly with them, and entertain them with great Civilities, especially white Ambassadors. They are greatly chargeable unto his Countrey, but he regards it not in the least. So that the People are more like Slaves unto us than we unto the King. In as much as they are inforced by his Command to bring us maintenance. Whose Poverty is so great oftentimes, that for want of what they supply us with, themselves, their Wives, and Children, are forced to suffer hunger, this being as a due Tax imposed [p. 188.]

upon them to pay unto us. Neither can they by any Power or Authority refuse the Payment hereof to us. For in my own hearing the People once complaining of their Poverty and Inability to give us any longer our Allowance, the Magistrate or Governor replied, It was the King's special Command, and who durst disannul it. And if otherwise they could not supply us with our maintenance, he bad them sell their Wives and Children, rather than we should want of our due. Such is the favour that Almighty God hath given Christian People in the sight of this Heathen King; whose entertainment and usage of them is thus favourable.

How they maintain Christianity among them.

If any enquire into the Religious exercise and Worship practised among the Christians here, I am sorry I must say it, I can give but a slender account. For they have no Churches nor no Priests, and so no meetings together on the Lord's Dayes for Divine Worship, but each one Reads or Prays at his own House as he is disposed. They Sanctifie the Day chiefly by refraining work, and meeting together at Drinking-houses. They continue the practice of Baptism; and there being no Priests, they Baptize their Children themselves with Water, and use the words, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and give them Christian Names. They have their Friends about them at such a time, and make a small Feast according to their Ability: and some teach their Children to say their Prayers, and to Read, and some do not.

In some things they comply with the worship of the Heathen.

Indeed their Religion at the best is but Negative, that is, they are not Heathen, they do not comply with the Idolatry here practised; and they profess themselves Christians in a general manner, which appears by their Names, and by their Beads and Crosses that some of them wear about their Necks. Nor indeed can I wholly clear them from complyance with the Religion of the Countrey. For some of them when they are Sick do use the Ceremonies which the Heathen do in the like case, as in making Idols of clay, and setting them up in their Houses, and Offering Rice to them, and having Weavers to Dance

before them. But they are ashamed to be known to do this; and I have known none to do it, but such as are Indians born. Yet I never knew any of them, that do inwardly in Heart and Conscience incline to the ways of the Heathen, but perfectly abhor them: nor have there been any, I ever heard of, that came to their Temples upon any Religious account, but only would stand by and look on; without it were one old Priest named Padre Vergonce, a Genoez born, and of the Jesuits Order, who would go to the Temples, and eat with the Weavers and other ordinary People of the Sacrifices offered to the Idols: but with this Apology for himself, that he eat it as common Meat, and as God's Creature, and that it was never the worse for their Superstition that had past upon it. But however this may reflect upon the Father, another thing may be related for his Honour. There happened two Priests to fall into the hands of the King; on whom he conferred great Honours; for having laid aside their Habits they kept about his Person, and were the greatest Favourites at Court. The King one day sent for Vergonse, and asked him, if it would not be better for him to lay aside his old Coat and Cap, and to do as the other two Priests had done, and receive Honour from him. He replied to the King, That he boasted more in that old habit and in the Name of Jesus, than in all the honour that he could do him. And so refused the King's Honour. The King valued the Father for this saying. He had a pretty Library about him, and died in his Bed of old Age: whereas the two other Priests in the King's Service died miserably, one of a Canker, and the other was slain. The old Priest had about Thirty or Forty Books, which the King, they say, seized on after his Death, and keeps.

An old Priest used to eat of their Sacrifices.

[p. 189.]

These Priests, and more lived there, but all deceased, excepting Vergonse, before my time. The King allowed them to build a Church; which they did, and the Portugueze assembled there, but they made no better than a Bawdy-house of it; for which cause the King commanded to pull it down.

The King permitted the Portugueze to build a Church.

Although here be Protestants and Papists, yet here are no differences kept up among them, but they are as good Friends, as if there were no such Parties. And there is no other Distinctions of Religion there, but only Heathens and Christians: and we usually say, We Christians.

FINIS.

Concerning
Severall Remarkable Passages
of my Life that hath hapned
since my Deliverance out
of my Captivity

By

ROBERT KNOX

Concerning Severall Remarkable Passages of my Life that hath hapned since my Deliverance out of my Captivity. By Robert Knox.

From the Manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Pressmark Fol. Δ. 623.

Fter I came out of my Captivity one the Iland of Zelone I arived at England in Anno 1680 haveing bin then 23 years abroad, for I went out in Anno 1657 & had not bin in England ever since. Folio 1. *The Author arrives at England.*

The first place I landed at was Erith; haveing noe mony I had borrowed 5 shillings of Cap[t] John Bromaell, he then was Boaswaine of the Ceaser the Ship I came whome in, but before I landed one Mr Short a Druggtor came one board & seeing me with an old fashion beard (longe whiskers) asked the captaine who I was: he telling him I was Cap[t] Knoxs son come from Zelone he came & discoursed mee, & told me he knew my Brother, & that my Sister was Married to a second husband & had severall Children, & gave me directions in writing whare each of them dwelt in London; this I looked one as a providence, for tell then I knew not wheather they weare Dead or Living, nor whare to Inquire after them.

The same day evening that I left the ship wee landed at the Hermitage, Stephen Rutland my fellow Captive being with me; that night we lodged thare in an Alehouse, & spent with Boatehire good part of my 5 shillings; next *And lands at Erith.*

morning with my Consort Stephen I went up into the Citty, & althoughe the Citty had bin burned, without inquiry, by my memory I came to the Royall Exchange, which by the magnificece thare of beyound what it was formerly appeared to me very strange, & I inquired in threadneedle Streete for Mr Lascelles my sisters husband and soone found his house; thare being onely an Apprentice in the Warehouse, I inquired of him for Mrs Lascelles, he told mee she was at theire Country house at Beadnall Greene; without discovering myselfe I asked him if he knew her Maiden name, he said yes, it was Knox, then I blessed God in my heart that had directed me to find my fathers daughters house. I said noe more, onely told the younge man I would call againe, by & by, for he had told me shee would be there anon. As I was goeing away he desired to aske me one question which was if I ware not his Mistresses Brother; I asked him why he put that question to me, he said because he had heard that his mistreese had a Brother longe Absent in the Eastindies, & my speeche was so like to hers. I told him I was the same & would goe & see for my Brother, which he gave me further directions to doe; he was a lodger in St Maries Churchyard; when I came to the house I inquired for Mr Knox who soone came to me. I knew him onely by the unhappie marke I had given him in his eye, but my Brother knew not mee, I told him I came from the place whare his father & Brother ware taken, & knew them boath, & began to talke aboute them, tell I could noe longer refraine weeping for Joy, like Joseph one the same occation, & as he did I fell one my Brothers necke & kissed him, blessing God that had brought me to see my Brother, my owne Mothers Sonn againe. After Congratulations we went togeather to my Sister, who was then come whome with her eldest sonn John; truly we knew not one the other by sight for she asked me if I had not a pockehole by my left eye, & puting my haire away she saw it which I knew not of; after Congratulations I told her I had thought never to have seene her, but now God had dealt

He finds his sisters house.

Folio 2.

He discovers his brother.

And his sister.

by me as by old Jacob, had showed me her seede also, at which I greatly rejoyced.

He is Welcomed at the East India House.

Soone after my owne Brother, and Brother Lascelles & friends went with me to the Eastindia house to make my appearance in person before the Comitty of said Company, for I had advised them in a letter from the Downs that I was come so far. At my appearing before them, they all bid me welcome to England, & told me they would not detaine me with discours of inquires to keepe me from my Relations, but defered that to heereafter, & the next time I appeared before them they ordered twenty pounds to be paid to me, & ten pounds to Stephen Rutland which we received accordingly ; but Sir Jeremy Sambrooke called a little one side & put two Gunieas into my hand, who then I knew not, but afterward I went to his owne house to thanke him againe for that Great faviour.

Folio 3.

He thinks how he should get a living.

After Congratulations, & discourses with all my Relations, most of which I found alive to my great Joy & Consolation, I began to thinke how I should now gitt a living in this new world, which I was as new borne into, & all my abillities in kniting & pedling &c that I lived by, as I may say in the world that I came from now stood me in noe steed, & my fortune that my father left me was but small & none of my Relations, ware in such Stations that they could imploy & prefer me to any buisnesse that I was Capable to performe. At length God brought me to one Capt John Brookehaven, an old East india Commander, who was one of my fathers acquaintance, but longe had left the seas, & in discoursing with him he, pittying my forlorn Condition, asked me what way & means I thought one to gitt a living. I told him I thought it best to follow the Seas againe, hoping to meete with better fortune then heather too I had had, telling him that my best abillityes as well as inclination led me that way ; he liked well my resolution, & told me he would advise me as if I ware his sonn, viz^{t} to put myselfe to a mathematicall Schoole, & offered to goe

with me to John Colson one of the best in England in that science; his advice liked me so well that I resolved to follow it & without delay; before we parted a time was appointed to goe theather, & accordingly he did goe with me to Mr Colson, & presently all things ware agreed one & I became his Scholer, for I was loath to loose any time. Tell then I had lodged with my Sister but now, to make the best use of my time, I tooke a lodgeing over against Mr Colsons house, & in short time I had run throught all, for I plyed my studes with dilligence early & late, knowing it was my intrest so to doe.

He goes to a Mathematicall Schoole.

Mean While S^r^ Josiah Child being then Govenor, I went with my Cousen Strype to him at his house to intreat his faviour & offer my service; he received me very kindly & told me I neede not take further care, he would provide to imploy me, & advised me to leave the Sea, which I had found so unsuccesfull & live one shore a factor at Bantam.

Folio 4.

I told him I was noe wayes Capable of such imployment, but was with a mathematition to improove myselfe to be fitt to serve him at sea, of which I had some small knowledge, & doubted not but in some time to make a sufficient progresse tharein. He perswaded me to live one shore, as being an easer life & more profett &c, but said, since I was so bent for the seas, he would provide for me that way; I thanked him & we tooke leave.

Afterward as I was directed I presented my petition to the Company, & they gave me a promise of their exceptance, so I weighted some times on Court dayes at the East india house. After this S^r^ Josiah Child called me into the parlour, & told me he had this day bought a small ship, building at Blackewall, to put me in Commander & wished me good successe in her, & bid me goe & looke after the finishing & fitting of her & told me further, that as I behaved myselfe in this, it woud be an introduction to a bigger. I hearty thanked him & told him, what I wanted in skill & experience I would indeavour to make up in care, & good husbandry that he

Sir Josiah Child's Kindness.

might have noe cause to repent of this great faviour he had bestowed one me.

The Author sails for the East Indies.

This ship was named the Tonqueene Marchant because the first voiage she was sent theather. It is a province one the West part of China. She was but 130 tuns burthen; I went out in her in Anno 1681 & sailed from the Downs in Sept. We ware in all 25 men in her, & went in Company with 5 others, all small ships bound for the Eastindies.

It being a bad season of the yeare it was May before I came to Bantam, which was the first port I was bound to; being arived thare, in the Rode Contrary to our expectations we found the Hollanders had taken the place, & the English ware expelled thence & gone to the City of Batavia: they had left 2 engl: factors one board the Duch men of warr that ware then riding in the Rode, to advise all english that came theather to repare to Batavia to the English Agent & Councill. Upon this notice the next day I sailed from Bantam & found all our factors at Batavia. Soone after they sent me to Tonqueene whare by Gods Blessing I safely arived, though I had never a man in the Ship that had ever bin thare before. Acording to Custome, a China Pilott came one board of me, whare I rode without ye Barre, with a letter from our English Factors resident one that place to welcome me to the port: & advise me to Intrust the Barer who was the Compaines Pilott to bring the Ship over the Barre into the River, & according to order next morning I Set Saile & stered as my Pilott directed; he onely pointed with his hand to goe this way or that way as he saw by his marks one the land.

Folio 5. *The Tonqueene Marchant arrives at Tonqueene.*

The ship strikes on the ground.

Soone after we ware under Saile we came upon the pitch of the Barr, & the Ship struck one the ground so that she beat: her Rudderhead came up into the Great Cabbin that we could not steere, but it pleased God the next sea hove her of quite over the barr & the water deepned gaine. The Ship being new & stronge gott noe harme & we drew the rudder downe againe into its

place, & it was as well as before. The Ship went aboute 20 miles up into the river whare I buried aboute 8 of my men, most principall officers, as Chiefe mate, Carpenter & Boatswaine.

In the January following 1682, the Ship being laden with very rich goods, as wrought silks & Muske, & filled up with lackered wares, I was sent backe to Batavia, and haveing lost so many men out of my small number, was faint to hire some Chineses to helpe saile the Ship: neverthelesse by Gods Blessing I gott safe to Batavia againe. Mine being a small ship and the goods I had brought very rich, the Agent & Councell, according to orders out of england, tooke out all the silk & Muske & loded them one board a large ship Called the Surratt Marchant who lay the same time in Batavia rode; & the English haveing lost theire trade at Bantam they had noe pepper to lade me, but put in some few parcell of Cassa lignum (for they had not goods to fill the ship) & sent me whome, for England.

Heere at Batavia I had gott a recrute of men for those that I had buried, & by Gods Blessing goeing alonge with mee I safely arived with my small ship to England againe. But note this by-the-by: that the small ship which they Distrusted to bring theire rich goods whome but sent almost empty away, came whome & Arived very safely, without any losse or hazard, & the Great Ship, the Surratt Marchant, which was intrusted with all the rich goods I had brought from Tonqueene, Perrished by the way whome with all her men, and was never since heard of.

Note.

Folio 6.

Thus Gods Providence Guided & Guarded me this my first voiage.

Sir Josiah Child's designe to lengthen the Ship.

The Ship being safely come whome, and sailing but very slowly, S^r^ Josiah Child who was owner of $\frac{1}{10}$ part would have her cutt in the middle & lengthned 12 foot, which the other owners disagreed to: however he ordered me that it should be done, & bad mee bring a builder to him to Contract with aboute the same; which I did,

& the ship was cut in the middle and lengthned accordingly. This highly displeased severall of my owners & their anger grew hot against me for following Sr Josiah's orders onely, without their Concurrance; for he would not lett the profett of the voiage be devided amounge the owners, but laid it out in lengthning & fitting out the ship againe.

Causes trouble & vexation.

Upon this 2 of the owners arested boath the ship & mee, in 2 Severall actions for theire part of the mony, which I could not helpe them two neither had it ever bin in my heade, but Sr Josiah appointed Baile to boath: however I had a great deall of trouble & vexation & ill will into the bargan from many of my owners, for who can serve 2 masters that are of severall minds as my owners ware; indeede I stucke to Sr Josiah Child's commands as being my Chiefe Master, thoughe some of the rest thareby became my enemies, for Sr Josiah whome they knew was the Chiefe Cause of detaineing theire proportion of the mony was to big for them to Contend with, therefore fastned their Action one me, as they told me themselves those troubles of Law Continewed two voiages that when I went to sea I was faint to put in Baile in the high Court of Admiralty for the valew of theire 2-1/16 parts & when I returned whome againe submitted the Ship to the Arest & releeced my baile that I had given; but they refusing to fitt out theire parts (for the Ship was run away with by my owne men, as I shall decleare hereafter) that I was forced to take up mony at Bottomary to fitt out theire 2 parts; howbeit the profet of the voiage repaided it that I was noe looser but should have bin a gainer if I had my dew.

Folio 7.

The Author sails againe for the East Indies.

The Ship being now lengthined 12 foot in the Midships, which made her aboute 30 tonns bigger then she was before, the Eastindia Compy sent me out one my Second voiage to Eastindies in Anno 1684 & I was Comder & Supera Cargoe boath. First I was to goe for St. Laurence or Madagaschar to procure Negrosse to bring for St. Helena for the Compes Service thare, whare they

The instructions for the voyage.

intended to plant Sugars, tobackco, Indicoe etc. in order to which they had sent from England a Westindia planter; but in my way to St. Laurence I was to view the Ilands of Tristian De Acunum etc. in order to make a settlement one some of them, if I should Judge them sutable with harbours Convenient for the purpose, they laying in and about Lattidude 37de South: & after this was accomplished & I had landed the Negrowes at St. Helena, thane I had orders from the Company to take 8 bales of Blew Bafts out of any Ship that should come thare whomeward bound from India, & two thousand pound they had sent in Ps $\frac{8}{8}$ from England which lay thare ready against my Coming to St. Helena, the which 2,000 pound & 8 bales ware a cargoe for me to proceede from thence for Eastindia one a new discovery or a projecting voiage, one which I was to proceed first to passe through the Straights of Bally and so into the South Seas; & thare to serch for a trade amounge those Ilands, & thence to Timore & to buy any sort of Comodities that I should Judge would turne to the Benefett of the Company, & if could gitt the ships lading then to Signe bills of lading (for such goods as I had so bought) Consigned to the Govenor & Comp^{e} in England, and so make the best of my way whome for England. But in Case in this attempt I should faile of my lading, then I was to goe either to fort St. George or Bengall, which to me should seeme most Convenient, & thare to deliver up what remained of my Cargoe & lade from thence for England. This is a Breviate of the intended voiage that I was to procecute, to performe which I set saile out of the Downs one the 5th May 1684 in Ship Tonqueene. She carring 18 guns & 33 men.

Folio 8.

Tristian De Accunium.

The Ship was well fitted with all nescesary Stores & provisions. It was Sept 1684 before I gott to the latt^{d}. of the Ilands of Tristian De Accunium whare I had very hard gales of wind, a great Sea and thicke weather; that it was not safe for me to fall in with an unknown land that layeth in so high a lattitude whare the winds are

variable, & my orders ware not possitive but indefferent vizt. if I could doe it Conveniently & without much losse of time (boath which unavoidablely would follow) & it being so late in the yeare I feared Should want time to procure Negrows at St. Laurence, tharefore I made the Best of my way theather & arived at Augustaine bay in November, one the Iland of St. Laurence.

I stayed heere till January following and had but Small trade, therefore sailed thence to the Northward one that Coast, & the weather began to brew up very thicke & sometimes blew so hard Notherly that put me under a Maine Course. One 6th Jan. 168$\frac{4}{5}$ the wind blew so hard Easterly that I could carry noe saile at all, which was Gods Mercy it began thare I being neere the shore that it blew me out into the Sea, & so vered aboute Southerly & to the Westward, whare if the storme had began it had most certainely drew me one Shore. This storme turned into a Hurrycane & by vering round the Compasse & blowing so exceeding hard, made the Sea all in a Breach & so outrageous that the Ship lay Continuall with her Gunnell under water, & whole Seas would breake over the Ship Continually that the men at the pumps (for the pumps stood one the upper decke) ware Guyed by ropes else could not stand one the Decke to pumpe, and the water increased upon us to 3 foot notwithstanding the low yards ware downe a portlongs by the voiolence of the wind, for all the Ship was very Stife & under masted (for next voiage I made them longer & the yards Squarer). She could not right but lay one this manner with her Steridge & forecastle ports in the water all night, faine we would have cut away the Mainemast in the night that the Ship might Right, but we could not see to cut all the ropes, & if any had bin left they would have hunge the Mast by the Side & indaingered Staving the Ship, which forced us to indure it tell day appeared, & so Soone as we could see we Cut away the Mainemast with all tharetoo belonging, & glad we ware so rid of it, for imediately the Ship righted after the Maine Mast was gone & we sucked

A greate storme and Hurrycane.

They cut away the maine-mast.

Folio 9.

the pumpe which we could not doe before; the wind then was come to North West and decreced apace, that before noone it was one Calme, but the Sea did not abate so soone as the wind; then I wished I had my Maine Mast againe. After the Storme was over I got downe my foretopmast & set it for a maine Mast & made as good a hight as I could & gott the Ship into the Shore of St. Laurance, in Lattidude 20 degrees & 50 Minuts South; which Coast is daingerous by Sea as well as by land, as will appeare by the usage I had from the Country people of which I shall write next.

And arrive safe into the shore of St. Laurance.

When I was fast at Anchor I sent my boate one Shore into a river (for I had one man that spoake a little of that language) to seeke for people, & they came to a little towne by the river Side, & my man spekeing the language to them they came to the boate, & one of them came with them in the boate one board Ship to mee. I treated him kindly with Brandy & victuals & adorned him very Richly with such Beads as hee liked best about his Necke, armes & legs, & sent him one Shore with my Man that spoke theire language, to goe with him to the King Rybassa, which my Man told mee he was very well acquainted with & desired he might goe for I forced him not; but before I goe one with my proceedings in order to trade I thinke it fitt to give some account Concerning the Originall extraction of this King Ribassa.

He was one of the younger Sonns of the famous old King Lightfoot who with his owne hand would shoot those of his wives that offended him & after bid some cut open her body to take out the Bullett.

King Lightfoot dead.

Old King Lightfoot was but lately dead when I came, & his eldest Sonn Temanuellerebo dwelt in the pallace & reigned King, but the 3 younger Sons vizt. Ribassa, Mammeo & Basseo who ware all men grown ware Combined togeather against theire elder brother Tomanuellerebo; & it hapned to be my lott to fall into that part of Country whare these 3 younge Princes had set up themselves against the King theire brother.

Now I shall goe one with my proceedings, in way of treating for trade since I have given an account of the Princes with whome I am to treate. Folio 10.

The Author acquaints King Rybassa that he has come to trade.

I had sent a man as I said before, with the Negrow of that place that came one board, to acquaint Prince Ribassa that we ware an English Ship, which nation he knew used to trade with his father Kinge Lightfoot, & that I was well stored with Armes & Amunition—Comodities fit for his Circomstances—besides Beads, brasse etc. usefull to Adorne himselfe & Court Ladies, & to desire permission to buy Slaves, in his Country. At that time I sent him onely one bottle of good Brandy, for he was above a dayes Journy up in the Country, but ordered to tell the Prince I had a Considerable present for him but could not now convey it to him for want of Barers, & to desire his Majesty to come downe neerer to the Sea that I might discourse with him aboute the trade, the affaire in hand.

Note the Negrow that went with my messenger whome I had decked so bravely with beads & Brasse striped of all those rich ornaments, and left theme at whome, for he feared to appeare in that Dresse before Rybassa.

The Messenger well received.

The Prince received my Messenger with a great deale of Joy & gladnesse, he bringing him such welcome newes, for he was in want of Armes & amunition to carry one his designe against his Brother Temanualarebo who was possessed of all the riches and Stores of war of his father Kinge Lightfoot; which I thought would have bin my advantage to bring my Armes etc. whare they ware in so great want of them, but I was mistaken in the end. He soone dranke up the Bottle of Brandy I sent him & dispatched away my Messenger to mee againe with 6 Slaves (3 men & 3 Women) for a present to me, and bad him tell me in a day or 2 after he would come downe himselfe to talke with me.

His present was as welcome to mee as my message was to him, which I looked one as a presage of a succesfull trade like to insew. Finding the Prince to be of so

Generous & Noble a temper put me upon inlargeing my intended present I had for to give him at his Coming downe to me; he made noe Delay but soone came to the Sea Side & sent of in a cannow to advise me thareof, & invited me and my great Dog (which he had heard I had) to come one Shore to him. It being late when the advice of the Princes Ariviall came I went not that night, but sent away my boate with a Case of Brandy to give him & to tell him in the morning I & my Dog would come one shore to waight one him.

Folio 11. *The Author goes on shore with his present.*

Next Morning I went one shore with my present vizt. which was Choice foulling peeces, Gunpowder, bullets, flints, beads of all sorts, & Brasse wire which they use for Braselets one theire armes & brandy. When I came one Shore the King was setting one a small stoole aboute one foot high under a tree, & 2 of his Queens seting by him, & aboute 150 men some sitting & some standing in a confused manner aboute him; most of them had very good fine armes & the rest had lances & darts, theire owne Country weapons.

How the King was adorned.

He was fare more adorned with beads than Rivouena the King of Augustaine from whence I came; his head & haire was drest very full & strangely that I cannot with my pen describe the manner, & his beard was divided into severall parts & beads strung on the haires mixt with divers coullers beads that made him show very Antickely. His armes ware full of silver brasletes, & his legge from the knee downward full of Beads of divers Coullers. He had noe cloath one, onely a dark Couller & durty greasey Cloath aboute his wast (for they all grease themselves boath head & body with beefe fat so thicke that the heat melteth it all aboute them) & the Queenes ware dressed after the same manner but meaner, onely they had Wascoats without Sleaves over their bodies, the backe parts of which was onely beads Strunge one threads & wove with fine figers & flourishes in a square peece, & one his knees acrosse his lap lay a Brasse Barrell Blunderbusse laden.

Their manner of greeting.

When we came togeather we shooke hands & rubbed

noses, that is to place the tip of our noses Just one against the other & so rub them one against the other a little while, which made my hand & nose very Greasey; then I delivered him my present which I saw was very exceptable, also some beads which I had apart I presented to the 2 Queenes, each severall, & they made me a speedy returne, one of them with her owne hand presented me two Guinea hens eggs, which I sent into my boate. The King had noe more seats then that whareone he satt, therefore I sat one my boates Carpet & we began to drinke Brandy which was the Kings Chiefe delight.

My Great Dog, according as the King desired, I brought with me; he was a very large & firce engl: Mastif; he was held by me in a Chaine by my own men. The King much admired the Dog—as the Dog did the King to see him so full of Coulours as his beads made him—for the King arose to stroake the Dog one the head which put the Doge into a fome with rage that I was faint to Catch him aboute the Necke else he would have tasted what the fine King was made one, which so startled the King that he Guarded himselfe with his Blunderbusse Cocked. I was sorry to see the rudenesse of my Doge, & ordered to Carry him away into the boate to prevent further dammage, but the King was so far from dislikeing the Doge (notwithstanding his rudenesse) that he loved him the more for his Courage & would not permitt the Dog to be carried away, but said I must give him to him, & Imediately ordered a very good peece of fat rib beefe to be rosted for the Dog that he might feede him himselfe to gitt his love and acquaintance. The beefe being dressed, was brought in a platter with some salt to the King, who cut it into peeces & fed the Dog whiles I held him by the Necke, & glad was the King while the dog was eating to have so much faviour as to Stroake him one the heade. I perceiving the dog grow dry at his meale told the King he wanted water; Comand was given presently to bring him some Milke in the King's owne Callabase or drinking vessell which he dranke in himselfe,

Folio 12.

The rudenesse of the Dog.

which was all addorned with beads, & the King served it to the Dog himselfe, but the Dog disliked it by the smell & would not drinke. I told the King I believed water would please him better, so water was brought in the same Royall vessell & the King held it himselfe while the dog drunke. By this manner of treatment the Dog soone knew his benefactour, for he was alwayes kept tied Close by the King that in a few dayes the Dog forsooke me & followed the King wheresoever he went, & thare I left him.

The King serves the Dog.

The Kings discourse on trade.

After some time spent aboute the Doge which was the first buisnesse he fell upon, we came to proposalls for trade & the King seemed to be very faine so we setled the prises one men and Women and Children Slaves: & for rice and Cattell, &c (graine & other Comodities heer are none worth mentioning) & was very earnest to have all my wares & Armes brought one shore that he might have the first Choice; & ordered his people to build a large house for me & my goods: which was soone finished being onely Sticks & rushes, but it would keepe out wind & raine.

I was not willing to Condecend to this proposall in bringing all my goods one Shore, for I had much more then the Ship could carry returned in Slaves, for the East india Company had sent a large Cargoe in case thare should be any other Comodities besides which I had order to buy; also I was somewhat mistrustfull of the King lest his want of my Armes &c might be greater than his abillity to buy them, & if they were all one Shore then they ware in his owne hands to doe with them as he pleased; and it is Customary here never to bring many one Shore even in places whare we are well acquainted, for the buyer will not Choose one gun tell he hath looked over all, if thare be 100, which by often handling spoyleth & disordereth them, & many times we come by losse for the people are rude & every one will take up something to looke one & often times goe quite away with them; for these reasons I thought not safe to

Folio 13.

The Author mistrusts the King.

venture all my guns &c in a house of rushes, as afterwards I found by those few I had one Shore. But told the King I would alwayes have a Sufficient number of Guns one shore to buy all negrows Slaves he or any other should bring, but could not bring all at once for fear of Spoyling with weet or Sand in the locks, but told him not I distrusted his honesty which was the Chiefe reason though the others weare of weight also.

I usually had aboute 40 guns at a time one Shore besides Gunpowder &c beads, & Brasse (Armes & Amunition was what he Cheifely required)—trade came one very slowly, that I bought not one slave but what I had of the King & that alwayes by way of present which came to nere duble the price of what it would if had bought it; this gave me a Cleare insight of what I suspected before—the Kings disabillity—as after I found to my Cost.

Princes Bassea & Mammea.

In few dayes the other two Princes of the Blood came down, Bassea & Mammea; they had not with them above 50 men for theire Retenew & to each of them I made a small present of Armes &c besides treated them highly with Brandy for all 3 ware great drinkers; but they have a good quality—they required not of mee to drink for company but ware satisfied if they could be drunke themselves.

Royall words doubted.

Their abillity could not reach to make returne for my present in Slaves, but each presented me a fat ox & told me thare was many Slaves one the rode comeing downe, the Catching of whome made them stay the longer, & now all 3 of the Princes gave me their Royall word that they would fill my Ship with Slaves in ten dayes more, & pressed me hard to send for Gun & powder, flints & bullets one Shore to have them ready that they might picke each one the Guns they liked & lay them by tell the Slaves came before they would carry one away, & this importunity made me the more doubtfull, as if the slaves could not march as fast as they at lest some of them might.

Folio 14.

I told them they neede not doubte but that I would

soone pay them for theire Slaves, (for the King had sent some of his Nobles one board & had seene I had a great number of guns) for if they pleased they might goe one board with me while I left some of my men one Shore, & thare they should picke & Choose what they liked. In the meane time I had aboute 40 Guns & some powder ready as they saw to buy a few, & the rest of the Guns ware of the same sort. After this a Cuntry man & his wife with Child & one boy his Slave, with some Cattle came downe to sell some of his oxen to me; the King tooke them all 3 and gave them to mee, for Slaves. I knew not but they ware his righfull Slaves tell some of my Slaves one board, whome he had given me before, told me: this put me upon a resolve not to adventure any more goods one Shore, but I mistrusted not in the lest that they would offer any voielence to me, since they could not but know theire Father King Lightfoot for many years Carried one a Continuall trade with the English, & by them was suplyed with all the Armes and Amunition which he had, but necessity put them above all Bounds of human Civillity, which otherwise they doe understand, for when they saw they could not by pretences perswade me to land my Armes, they tooke the oportunity when my boate was one Shore, to run downe & Cease one her. The Kinge & 2 princes, ran in the head of them & all followed that they ware as many men as could lay a hand one the boate, & so at once they draged her up out of the water, so far as they could for trees; we ware eleven men then one shore & the Ship rode 3 miles distance.

The treachery of the King.

This Sight strangely surprised us all, and left noe roome for any other thoughts, but present death, being prevented from all possibillity of an escape, & as much unable to make any resistance for our owne defence & preservation, for our enimies ware at lest twenty to one, neither had we any of our guns laden, as theires all ware. Besides they had draged the boate so far up into the land that it was not in the power of us all for want of Strength, if they had let us alone, to gitt her into the water.

Folio 15.

Then the King sent & fetched away all the guns that ware in my house; thare was a small barrell of gunpowder filled into Cartheredges fitt for Sale, besides Beads & brasse: those they left. Meane while we all stood like Sheepe in a little flocke expecting when the Dogs would be sett one to Worrey us; but none medled with us yet but let us turmoile in our owne thoughts, which was torment enought to see ourselves wholy in the hands of such inraged barbarians, to whome we could not well expresse our Just defence, but they looked one me as a high Criminall that had hindered him from Armes, (which was all the fault they could charge me with) which in his Circumstances, he was in such great want. *The King takes away the guns.*

In short ejaculations I committed my Soule to God, & thought it best to goe & make my Addresse to the King who was sitting at a little distance, & Carried my Engl: man who spoake a little of his Language with mee & began to tell the King that if I had not intended the Guns & amunition for him I would not have brought them heather to his port; but his rage was so great that he would not heare anything but tooke mee by the hand & pulled mee downe & made mee sett at his feete one the Sand, & first tooke hold of my Neckecloath & twisted it aboute my necke as if he intended to Choake mee, but it soone broake: then he tooke of my hat & laid it with the Crown downewards on the Sand & stamped it flat with boath his feete & Covered it over with Sand: then he put his hands in my pockets & tooke out my watch for I had nothing else: that he put in againe saying he could not keepe it alive. Then he tooke mee by the Wrist with one hand & twisted my arme which I eased what I could by winding my body, & with his other hand he hild a lance & directing it to my brest & often made a motion as if he intended to strike it into my body: at that time mee thoughts I was looking present Death in the face & had this thought strongely one my mind vizt. that the hands of Kings as well as the hearts are in the hand of God, & that he could not Strike without his *His rage with the Author.* *Who looks for present Death.*

blessed will; which greatly Comforted mee to think thare was a greater power extended over me then the Kings;
Folio 16. meane while one of his Brothers did by my English interpreter as the King did to mee.

The rest of my men stood at a little distance lookeing when the King would stab me, & some of the people told them to Comfort them that the King intended onely to kill mee & they should be slaves. Any man may safeyly Conjecture the apperehensions we ware under if he will but imageon himselfe to be one of us under those forementioned Circumstances. This Continewed aboute half an hower, then one a sudden he set his lance betweene his legs & the stafe rested against his Sholder.
The King's anger abates. He tooke up my hatt & thrust out the Crown & shaked out the Sand & put it one my head, & pulled me to him & we rubbed Noses togeather, which is theire highest Compliment of kindnesse, Calling me Brother & shakeing me by the hand. This seemed to me a straing Change & the Stranger because it came so of a sudden, & he bid mee not to be angry saying he loved me well.

I tooke hold of his words as Benhadads messengers did one Ahabs, & called him Brother againe & told him I was not Angry with him, but told him if he ware not angry with mee why did he pull my boate out of the water; at which he rose up himselfe, & the 2 Princes
He drags the boat into the water againe. & all the rest followed, & they went to the boate & draged her downe into the water againe saying 'now brother thare is your boate', but he would not lett my men be in her onely to moore her fast by the Graplins, neither did I much desire they should fearing they would run one board & come noe more one Shore to me, as indeede they had Cause enought to be frighted.

After this was done I sent to my house for some brandy, for they had plundred nothing but the Guns, and the King with his 2 Brothers & I sat downe to drinke I taking as much freedome with them as I had done before & not as if I did resent any thing ill that he had done, for I thought it my intrest to Conceale boath my

feare & Anger being yet wholy in his power. He would not now drinke till I had Dranke the first cup of every bottle for feare of poyson, So we spent some time togeather & they began to be drunke; then I feared lest somewhat of my behaviour might give offence. Though I strove to seeme as friendly & loving as I could, yet my heart was full of carefull thoughts & fears how to order & dispose of this great affaire, & told the King I would goe to my house. He was very free I should goe butt bad me send him some more brandy; so wee parted & I left them adrinkeing: they Continewed at it tell they had dranke ove all I had one Shore which was aboute 6 Gall: Some of his nobles dranke with him, & this was nere by my house, & his men ware all sett to watch round aboute mee & he himselfe with his 2 wives lay in the open aire one a bench they made for him against my doore. *Poyson feared.* Folio 17.

Heere I saw the difference betweene Married men & Batchelours, the first fare more bemoned & lamented themselves remembring theire wives & Children then the latter, for whose losse none could fare the worse, & Sleepe departed from our eyes. Now I began to thinke one what the Divel said of Job: 'Skin for Skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life', so those Guns & powder which noe Argument before could perswade me to part with, now my disposion was so Changed that I wished the King had them all one Condition we all ware but one board Ship, but the difficulty was great how to transact this matter. First how to come by them, for I feared if some of my men went in my boate to fetch them they would not returne againe; Secondly when the King had them he would yet keepe us in hope of gitting more & not be satisfied with all. These matters tooke up my thoughts all night. In the morning I concluded to goe to my Brother the King and tell him I would send my boate & some of my men in her to bring her lading of Guns and powder, which I did when he was asleepe with his 2 wives by him, & set my selfe downe one the *The difficulty to come to the Ship.*

bench & awoke him. He was well pleased with my offer but Complained of his head; I told him it was by drinkeing brandy; he soone arose & bad me send whome I would provided I would stay.

Folio 18. By this I saw God wrought for me by puting a power in my hand to releece my men which would lay a high obligation one them in point of honour & Graditude not to leave me who stayed as a pleadg for them, so

The boate goes off to the Ship. I ordered all but 2 to goe one board earnestly exhorting them not to forsake us that ware one Shore which they all vowed & promised not to doe. I bad them bring a good quantity of all Sorts but not to overlade the boate & lay of at a distance & not come one shore. The King sent one of his Noblemen in the boate with them & so they departed to goe to the ship. When they came one board & told my Chiefe Mate what had hapned & what I had ordered to send in the boate he seemed unwilling to part with the goods pretending the King would keepe boath the Goods & us; for he had then a designe to run away with the Ship as he did afterwards, as I shall relate in dew place, but things ware not yet ripe for his purpose, so the

And returns with armes. boate according to my order returned with armes etc., many of which they had laden with bullets for theire owne defence in case of an attacke, & came & rode at Anchor neere the shore in a poster of defence.

The King seeing her came & sat by the Sea Side expecting the booty he so much boath wanted & desired, but they keept it out of his reach so that now he was faint to have recourse to me to know what he should doe. I told him I beleeved they ware afraid of last nights Action & therefore came not one Shore as formerly, & bad him send one of his Cannows to her to know the matter: so he did, & brought the Kings man one shore to him, who went one board in the boate, who told the King they sayed they would not deliver any thing out of the boate unlesse I myselfe came of to them. This also I liked very well but it was not pleasing to the King, who now saw himselfe never the nerer in accomplishing his

intended designe to gitt the armes &c. He now fawned one me & we rubed noses againe, & he said he was not angry but loved me & told me he would send his 2 wives of as a pleadge for the Armes tell he did redeeme them by paying for the Armes with those Slaves he had coming downe out of the Country.

Folio 19. *The King valews not his wives.*

I did not care that this project should take efect for I knew he valewed not his 2 wives since he had many more & Could have as many as he pleased besides, but told the King I did beleeve the men in the boate would make them but as 2 Common Slaves & noe more, neither ware the armes now in the reach of my power since he Detained me one shore, but it would posesse them with a greater feare & would they looke upon him as theire enimy & soone make another Captaine & goe away with the Ship, but if I ware thare myselfe then he should have the Armes. However he sent againe to the boate & offered the same proposall to send his 2 wives of to them in pawne for the armes, which they in the boate with Contempt Rejected & shewed his messingers the Armes, Amuniticion &c. which they had brought for him but would deliver them one noe other Conditions but for mee.

The boate lay so neere that we could see one the other, but was out of call. This thaire answer put the King into a Deepe Consideration that he bowed downe his head & leaned it one the hilt of my Sword that he had taken from me, Consulting in himselfe a good while: in Conclusion he righted himselfe and required my promise that when I was in the boate to send the Armes &c. one shore to him & onely the other 2 men should stay with him. One these Conditions I was sent of to the boate & my 2 men I left ware not unwilling I should goe one board, for wee all feared if they could not agree in treating with the King they would be gone with the Ship, & then our Case would have bin altogeather Desperate although the King should have released us.

The Author released.

When I came into my boate all my men received me with embraces of Joy, & acording to my promise I sent

30 guns & 4 whole Barrells of Gunpowder to the King, for he had a power of force upon me to Comply having yet 2 of my men one Shore with him. It was one darke when I came into my boate so we went further of from the Shore & rode at Anchor all night, for wee could not find the ship in the night, & next morning I went one board & Setled my buisnesse thare & armed my boate with platformes one before & the other abaft, & placed one each a small quarterdecke Gun & fitted her well with Small armes &c for defence in case they should Attacke us with theire Canooes, & so I went one towards the shore whare the King lay to treat with him for my 2 men, & rod at Anchor some Distance for I feared to venture into his reach againe.

He goes one board the Ship.

He returnes with armes.

Folio 20.

So soone as I was come the King came & sat under a tree by the Sea Side with all his men aboute him waighing for my coming one Shore, & seeing I did not he sent of a Cannooe with one of his nobles to invite me to lande & come to him; then I began to reason the Case & show my resentments of the Kings rudenesse so lately held upone me without any cause or provocation given; & althoughe He said he was not angry not ment ill wherefore yet would he detain 2 of my men & I would first put it to the proofe wheather he ment as he said, & bad him tell the King I could not trust him as my friend till he sent my 2 men of to me, which done I would come & trade with him as formerly. His messinger extenuated the Kings actions by saying he was Drunke then, else he would never have dealt so by me, & he was sure the King was very sorry for what he had done; I needed not aske if he ware sure the King would never be drunke againe for I knew he would as soone as he could gitt Liquor, so I dispatched the Messenger to the King with this message & sent by him a case of Brandy in testemony of my good will & friendship, & bad him tell the King I onely staid tell he sent my 2 men & then would goe one in trade & in the meane time would part with nothing more.

And reasons with the King.

Upon receipt of my Case of Brandy the King presented me with a Slave & renewed his promises of friendship, & said so soone as I came one Shore I might send my men whare I pleased (for I could see them walking one the Shore) & one this manner we treated some dayes, I presenting him with Brandy & he alwayes making returnes to mee in one Slave at a time. When I see I could noe wayes prevaile I was faint to use a forceable argument, for they Constantly came of in a Canooe to my boate which used to come within halfe Musquetts Shott of the Shore, for the King was in as great paine fearing lest the Ship should goe away as I was for my Men, so when they came in my boate with the old arguements 'noe angry & much love' I ordered my men to lay hold one 2 of the Chiefe of the Kings men (the canow or boate with the rest of the men were one shore) which he himselfe saw done. He might have fired into the boate, but then we would have answered his salute with our 2 little guns which ware full of Musquett Bulletts & all our Small Shott.

The King renewes his promises.

Old Arguements.

Folio 21.

When I had my 2 prisoners one board I told them I desired nothing but my 2 men, notwithstanding all what the King had taken from me out of my house besides what I had presented him, & if I could not gitt them I would carry them boath away for Slaves, & so Chained them boath fast to prevent theire swiming one shore. They could say nothing but cry & lament saying the King was a bad man.

Haveing now Ceased one 2 of the Kings men, one whareof was a Noble, I could not rationally thinke he would send any more to treate, therefore now it lay one me to send my meaning to the King though he might guise at it; (to offer an exchange) I proposed to send one of my Slaves with this message & give him freedome for his paines (at that time I had about 50 in the Ship), & I made an offer in generall to any one of them that would goe; they all refused, Choosing rather to stay Slaves with me saying the King was a naughty man, neither was it Convenient to force any one such an Arrent therefore I

The Author offers to exchange prisoners.

was faint to send one of my prisoners to tell the King I offered an exchange, & by him I rote a letter to my men one shore to Comfort them & bad them to tell the King I would make an exchange, & when the King understood my meaning & see my faire intentions, in returne of my prisoner I sent him he sent of one of my men; then we were equiall, the King had one of my men & I one of his Nobles.

All this while I had treated in my boate comeing neere to the Shore every day, but upon my forbarerance one day I had a Canow came one board to me with a message in the name of King Ribassa, Prince Mammea & Prince Bessea, & a present of the silver Braslets they wore one theire armes, I judge in valew aboute five pounds Sterling, to desire me to forgitt & forgive what had bin done unto me & to come one shore, they all promising Curtious treatment & a greate trade saying they had now Slaves come downe out of the Country, & for the dew performance hereof I had theire Royall word which I valewed not at the price of one gun, & since I had so lately escaped a second Captivity though short yet far more dreadfull then the first one Zelone I could not easely be perswaded to lay myselfe at theire mercy againe; but I treated theire Messenger kindly & gave to himselfe a pistoll & some powder besides Beads & Brasse, & sent to each of the Princes a gun & some Brandy, & showed him great quantities of Guns & powder that I had to buy slaves with, & bad him tell the King &c. that if they would send the slaves one board they should have ready payment, or else I would send my goods in my boate neere the shore & trade with them thare, or else if the King would send such of his Nobles, as I named, one board to stay as hostages I would come one shore & trade with them, for now I reckoned myselfe secure as to my man one shore since I had gott a Considerable man that they valewed prisoner one board, & if they would not comply with these proposalls it seemed cleare to me it was not trade but Treachery that they intended, for they found

A present from the King.

Folio 22.

The Messenger treated kindly.

they got well by my Ransome & like to gitt nothing by any other.

And thus we Continewed treating some dayes, they pressing me to come one shore & I standing fast to my former proposals, & so made noe further progresse in trade. At length we came to treat aboute exchange of Prisoners. The point in hand was how to trust each other & how should release his prisoner first for we ware boath afraid of a trapan.

This treaty was carried one in boates: my boate went & lay neere the shore & they came off in Cannow & lay at a little distance.

After a longe debate we came to a conclusion that I was to send my prisoner in my boate neere the Shore & they ware to bring of theire prisoner in a canooe, & so they ware each to leap into the Sea & Swime to each others boate. When we came to the point we could not agree whose prisoner should leap first into the Sea; I would have my man & they would have theires. At length I was faint to let my prisoner leap first, for we held him like a Dog in a slip rope, & my man was in a canooe not 20 yards of, that we could talke to him, & he told us he was loose, & we had all our armes ready that if they had deceived us we would have shot our prisoner in the water & also the men in the Canooe, besides the King & all his nobles ware within our reach one the Shore; but they dealt fairely, for so soone as theire blacke man was in the water they lett goe ours & he swame to the boate.

The Conclusion of the whole matter.

Folio 23.

I stayed yet a day or 2 more that they might Consider for I was loath to loose my voiage & goe with so few negrows. They came of to the Ship afterwards but would not come one board but lay at a little distance to perswade me to come one Shore, & I perswaded them to bring of theire Slaves to the Ship; but we could not prevaile with each other so I sett Saile & being without a maine mast & late in the yeare could not proceede to Matuledge, but made the best of my way for St. Helena whare I was to Carry the Negrows, haveing shifted the Misson mast & placed it for a Maine mast, whare by Gods Blessing tho with much difficulty I safely arived.

This that I have wrote is a true Relation of Gods

Mercifull dealing with mee heather too in this my Second voiage & how marvelously he did preserve & deliver mee out of 2 great & extraordinary daingers boath which pointed at my very life : I may say 3, for in my passage *Sea Scurvie.* from St. Laurence to St. Helena the Sea Scurvie fell upon me, which I never had before nor since ; it had seased me so voiolently that when I came to land one St. Helena my breath was gone & was faint to be carried, but this by Gods Blessing soone wore off. I shall heare sume them up togeather for my own better rememberance : First the Hurry Cane in which I thought the sea would have swallowed us Ship & all : Secondly King Rybassa whome I feared God had appointed to be my Executioner : Thirdly the Disease called the Scurvie which had I bin longer at Sea would Certainely have prooved the Messenger of death.

But after God by his Speciall providence had saved & preserved me from perrishing by these 3 threatning Judgements thare was yet another neere attending & greater then any of the former, which Stript me at once of all my worldly riches & Injoyments & exposed me to Folio 24. poverty & Contempt that I thinke I may say never any *Proverbs Chap.* 23. *verse* 5. man saw that Scripture (Proverbs 23 & verse 5) plainelier fullfilled then myselfe, vizt. 'Wilt thou set thine eyes upon that which is not, for riches Certainely make themselves wings & flie away as an eagle towards heaven.' This mine eyes beheld, all my Worldly Substance & worldly Dignities vanished, togeather in a moment & left me with onely the Cloaths one my backe. This made me say with Job 'naked came I into this world & naked shall I returne,' for what I had God had lately given mee (for I came from Zelone with nothing), & one a sudden he tooke all away againe, & how all this came to passe even when I lest suspected, for all Gods wayes are uncearchable, I shall now relate.

The Ship as I said before was arived safely from Madagaschar or St. Laurence to St. Helena without a mainemast & all tharetoo belonging, which put me into a great many

troublesome cares how to provid & refitt againe to proceede one my intended voiage for the unknown South parts of India, as well as great expences to the owners of whome I was one myselfe. After all this was over & I had refitted the ship & was all ready to saile thence; the next day one the 29 day of May Anno 1685 while I was Standing one the Sea side ashore in the evening calling the boate to come one Shore for to carry me one board, the men in the Ship cut the Cables & loosed the Sailes & so run away with the Ship: so soone as I could gitt a boate I went & followed her, but could not overtake her so returned one Shore againe haveing visiblely seen Riches make themselves wings & fly away.

The Ship run away with.

I continewed one St. Helena aboute one Month & had my diet free at the Compaines table, & was faint to borrow mony of the Companies to pay for provision, that I had taken for the Ships use before she was carried away, one bills of Exchange one the owners to pay in England. Then came a Ship from India one which I got passage & the Capt. seeing me an object of Charity, haveing onely the Cloath one my backe, gave me a suply of Cloaths to Shift me. Thus God brought me safe in bodily health againe to my native Country of England, but poorer in wealth then when I came out of my Zelone Captivity, haveing then some little patrimony thare but now I had carried all with me & left nothing in England.

The Author an object of Charity.

Folio 25.

The first porte we came into was Plimouth, from whence I wrote to London to advice to Company & owners of my Sad Condition, & according to the old custome the measure of actions is by the successe so I found it blame instead of pitty; but we staid not thare longe enough to have an Answer; in the Meane while we staid as the Capt. of the Ship & I ware standing lookeing out into the Sound we saw a Ship comeing in which to my eyes appeared very much like my Ship the Tonqueen which was carried away from me at St. Helena, in-so-much that I said to him ware it not but that I knew it to be impossible I should affairme it was my Ship I had lost, as

He arrives in Plimouth.

And sees the Tonqueen.

indeede it was the same as I hard afterwards, but it was my misfortune as she was thus coming in to the Sound a fishing boate came one board to offer theire Service as Pilot, by whome upon inquiry they ware informed that thare was an East india Ship newly arived which they Concluded came from St. Helena since they had run away from thence & feared lest I should be one board her; whareupon imediately they stood out againe into the Sea (had she came in thare I had catched her with good part of my mony one board, which the men had divided amounge themselves) & went into the iland of white to the port of Cowes thare, & all run away with theire plunder leaving the Ship at Anchor with onely some boyes in her.

But the men run away with theire plunder.

But some of them went to the East India house to tell the Company whare they had left the Ship, & to clear themselves Charged me with all the Scandelous crimes they could invent, which forced them thus to doe, but the highest Crime they Charged me with was Short allowance; but before I came one Shore in the Downs, by a boate that came of from thence I was told my Ship the Tonqueene was at the Port of Cowes, which was the first news I had heard of her since she was carried away from St. Helena, & that thare lay a letter at Mr. Lodges at deale for me which without delay I went & received.

And invent lies.

Folio 26.

It was from S^r^ Josiah Child himselfe wharein he advised me that the Tonqueene was come & severall had made intercession for my place to Command her, but bad me not be discouraged for none should displace me, & make Speede to come to him. This letter was as Comfortable to me as the saying of Boas to Ruth, & gave me Cause to blesse God that had inclined his heart to take compation one me.

The manner of the mens proceeding when the Ship was run away with.

Heere at Deale I mett one of the men that was in her when She was run away with from St. Helena, & he gave me a full account of all theire manner of proceeding, & that thare ware many that ware against that Action, but those that ware for it ware more & overpowred the others,

& that theire intent was to goe into the Red Seas thare to take & rob the Indians Ships & vesselles & devide the Spoile ; but upon the Debate they found the Season of the yeare was to late that before they could come into the Red Seas all the Ships & vessals would be gone & so that designe was frustrated, neither could they propose any designe to goe through with but some would start objections of some inconvenience attending that would Confound it, for the Ship they had Sailed very bad that they durst not thinke to goe whare any sailing ships might meete for feare of being taken.

They divide the money.

The first thing they went upon after they ware gotten Cleare from St. Helena was to devide all the mony, first each man had his whole wages then dew & the rest was equially & alike divided amounge them all. But afterwards they fell into a Confusion, Severall men being of a Severall minde, that they could come to noe Resolution whare to goe nor what to doe with the Ship they had now gott posession of. This brought them to contend aboute the Supreeme Command & came to a dispute who should be Chiefe Captaine, thare being Severall pretenders to that office who said they had as much right & done as much to gitt the Ship as any other, & ware as equiall & alike in dainger of hanging if taken as any of the rest.

But contend about the Supreme Command.

In the meane time they who before ware officers expected more Command, & tooke upon them to locke up the wine & Brandy & alow the Common men onely one bottle p. Messe p. Meale while they dranke at will & pleasure themselves. This put the Common Seamen into a great heate of anger to see the officers excersise such an Arbitrary power over them as deprived them of theire rights in drinkeing at pleasure as the officers did, & resolved not to suffer such an imposition to be laid upon them since they could say that without theire assistance or at lest permition the officers could never have carried away the Ship, but broake open the doore & brake it all to peeces that it could not be set up againe, & so they brought all to lay in common & every one would be draunke at pleasure.

Folio 27.

And breake up the door.

This brought them into small parties & each party grew jeallous & Suspicious of the others, that at length it was taken as a Crime for any 2 to whisper togeather & began to looke one each other as an enimy. The Chiefe mate who was the Chiefe Contriver in this Barretry, seeing he could not keepe the men at his Command & Carry the Ship & them whare he pleased, made an offer that they should put him & 5 men his party with what they could carry in the long boate one Shore & they would acquitt the Ship & all belonging to her ; this was agreed one.

The Chiefe Mate's offer.

The next thing to Consider one was whare this could most safely be done that they might have oportunity to escape with what they had gotten from the hands of the hangman. Many places ware proposed in the West indies, or in Virginia, or Mareland, whare they might sell Ship & all & devide it amounge them, but theire Animosities ware grown so high that they could not come to any agreement but lay driving with the Ship two & frow in the Sea. Some of them phanssied they Saw my ghoast walking up & down in the Ship by which they Conjectured that I was dead, greife having broake my heart.

At length they came to a resolution vizt. to goe to St. Augoe & thare to Consider further what to doe, which they did, & offered to sell the whole ship to the govener for 2 thousand Dollers which made him mistrust they ware Rogues by offering the Ship so cheipe. Meanetime came in thare S^r^ John Wybourne with 2 of the Eng^l^ Comp^es^ ships bound for East India ; he rode aboute one league from them & the people telling him they suspected the Ship, he sent his boate on board to know who & what they ware. They Carried all things so Subtilly, haveing broake of all her carved worke & galleries, that they passed examiniation undiscovered & pretended they ware a Ship Called the Greyhown belonging to Bristoll that had bin at St. Laurence & thare had lost theire mainemast, & had bin at St. Helena whare by the assistance of the whomeward bound Ships that came in while they ware

Sir John Wybourne's Suspicion.

Folio 28.

thare they ware Suplyed with what they wanted, & by nameing boath Ships & Cap^{t} names togeather with Circumstances of the Iland, the boate returned to S^{r} John without suspition.

However to prevent further dainger that night they weyed anchor & set saile from thence, & went one the Weather side of the Iland & lay plying too & frow in the Sea for Some time tell he was gone, & then came into the Rode againe & desired the Govenors leave for the Chiefe mate & 5 of his party to Stay one Shore, but he refuseing it they Sailed thence to the Iland of Hogoe whare the Govener thare Received them & gave them leave to stay, so they tooke out as much as the longe boate could Carry—4 Bales of the Comp^{es} Callicoes, the Chyrurgery Chest, all sorts of armes & amunition, & all my Cloaths, Chest & Beading with what else they cared for—& left the Ship to the rest of the men to doe with her as they should please.

The Chiefe Mate lands with his plunder.

Note. The tow thousand pound in PS$\frac{\infty}{\infty}$ ware one Shore at St. Helena for I had not taken them one board before the ship run away.

After, they soone Agreed (not knowing what to doe with the Ship) to come with her to England, but so & to such places that they might have oportunity to save themselves & theire mony &c. that they had for theire Shares, which they did at the Isle of White, but some of them haveing more then they could well carry left some of my old Cloaths in the Ship, which I had againe.

The other Seamen carry the Ship to England.

This Relation Concerning theire Transactions in the Ship after they had carried her away is a Digression that hath led mee beside my purpose, yet I thought nessesary to incert it but now I shall returne to my owne affaires whare I left of.

According as S^{r} Josiah Child had directed me in his letter I received at Deale, I went to him at Wansted whare he welcomed me with Expressions of greate Kindnesse & Compassion, & bid me Comfort myselfe saying he would Continew to be my friend & I must now begin againe. Folio 29.

Sir Josiah Child's Kindness.

And his lady's.

My Good Lady his wife did also exceedeingly Commiserate my Condition & speake Comfort to my very heart, for which kindnesses I blessed God in my heart who had not left me Destitute of all Comforts, but gave me faviour in the sight of a man great in worldly power. He bad me loose noe time, but goe imediately to the Isle of white & bring the Ship thence to London, that She might be fitted & got ready to goe againe to India.

The East india Company's reception.

When I came & appeared to the East india Company I had another Kind of reception then what I found from S^r^ Josiah, Imputed to be the most unfortunate man like Jonah that for my Cause all this evill had hapned, & that a fate attended me, Denoting I was as Coniah a man that should not prosper in his dayes; in fine I was as much blamed as if I had run away with the Ship myselfe, when theire whole losse was but 4 bailes of Course Callacoes, neither did the owners loose above 500 PS.$\frac{00}{00}$, of which $\frac{1}{16}$ part was mine, but the greatest looser by far was myselfe, neither could they themselves Charge me any further then onely giveing Scant allowance of provisions which was the same according to Custome as in all theire ships.

Notwithstanding all the Contumelious reports that the men had raised one me to Justifie themselves & make theire Barratry an act of necessity, Some carried it so far as to say that I had bin brought up in Slavery & could live upon turnep tops, & tharefore thought other men could faire as myselfe; nay it came to this point, that Cap^t^ Knox was so unfortunnate a man not fit to be imployed in theire Service, & it was put to the question in theire Court of committies wheather they should—giveing me a small gratuety—discharge me from theire Service, whilest at the same time they that made the motion said they did beleeve him to be a very honest man: which as I was informed had Certainely bin Carried had not S^r^ Josiah Child then Govener opposed it, saying the Company needed honest men to serve them, & to turne me out of theire Service ware to cut my throat; &

The question of the Author's discharge.

as for misfortunes who could tell what another man might have that should be put in my Stead, & although the motion went noe further yet it showed me how they stood affected towards mee.

After this by Sr Josiahs Directions I began to put the Seamens Bonds in suit & arrested severall of theire Securites upon Breach of Bonds which stood good in Law against them (for the Seamen ware all fled). These men which ware Securites whome I had arrested, finding they could not stand it out in Law petitioned the Committy of the East india Company for redresse, desiring they would restraine & forbid me to put theire bonds in Suite; at which I was called in to the parlour to the Committes & some of them deswaded me earnestly to forbeare procecuting for this Reason, that the Company had a very bad name already & that this would make theire name so bad that they should have noe Seamen to serve them hereafter, but would have me refer the matters to them & they would ajust it. I could easely Gusse what Judgement they would give, since they feared the Law of the land would be so faviourable to me & before were for discharging me theire Service.

The Seamen put in Suit. Folio 30.

The Committee would restraine the Author.

I told them I desired nothing more then my Right as a free borne Subject of England according to law, which I doubted not but would faviour my righteous Cause since it was so evident that I had bin grieviously Wronged. However if Sr Josiah Child would please to take the matter in hand I would wholy Acqueise in his determination. I perceived they had rather I should have Chose some other, so they went & acquainted Sr Josiah who was not pleased with theire proposall, saying why should not I have what right the law would give me, & bad me proceede with Viger & said he would assist me tharein. None stood a tryall but all Complied & paid me a little, not ¼ part of the penalty of the bonds, what I could gitt some more some lesse: & I gave them a Releese for time, not to Cancell the bond lest hereafter I might git the men themselves.

But he proceedes with Viger.

By this meanes I got a little mony to Suply my wants & was faint to sell my $\frac{1}{16}$ part of the Ship at a low
1686. rate for want of mony to fitt out, & so I went to sea one my third voiage for the East indies with what little stocke I could gitt togeather, bound now for Bumbay with the
Folio 31. Kings Commission under the great Seale of England to
The Author proceedes for Bombay with the King's Commission. make War against the Grand Mogoll & his subjects, & to take all Ships & vessalls belonging to them as I should meete in my passage theather, & the Company added to my number 30 soldiers so that I carried out 63 men & had 24 guns.

This designe pleased me very well being very sutable to my present Circumstances, haveing but little Stocke to trade with, & this in all appearence seemed a ready way to raise my decayed fortune haveing a full power by the Kings, as well as the Companies Authority, to take booty from the Indians which I knew ware not able to make any Considerable resistance tho my force ware small, & would not suffer my thoughts to wade far into the Equity & Justnesse of such Actions since my Commission according to human law would beare me out.

Contrary winds delay them. In my passage I was much obstructed by Contrary winds, as Balam when the Angell stoped his Asse, that made my voiage longe & tedious that I could not reach Bombay the port that I was first bound to, but forced upon the Coast of Arabia whare I persued severall ships but they escaped from me by sailing faster then we, but comming into the Gulph of Percia I chased a ship one shore & all the men run away from her in theire boate to the land.

They take a prize. This ship we soone gott of againe without any dammage & brought her with us into Percia; She came from Cindy & was full laden with Callicoes, but upon examination the Eng^{l} Agent ordered me to deliver the ship to the Percians which I did with all her goods; however when I came whome to England the Company made me pay Considerablely for goods said to be plundered by my men out of her, whareas I thinke wee deserved a reward for

saveing her when she was one the shore, for it was my duty to examine all Ships & they should have staid in her to have given an account to whome she did belonge, & in truth I doe beleeve that the ship did belonge to the subjects of the Mogoll although they was willing that I should deliver her.

Bad trade caused by the War.

The war then being broake out all tradeing ceased, onely one the Mallabar Coast which is not under the Mogoll, & haveing spent aboute one yeare Crusing I was sent whome laden with Coffie & pepper. As Concerning Circumstances relating to this war & the reasons to give the Compie a right to Sease the Ships & goods of the Indians & Convert them to theire own use is beside what I intend, which is not to write what hapned in the world in my time, but onely wright passages that Concerne myselfe & to shew how Gods providence hath led me too & frow in the world. Folio 32.

War broake out with France.

In my passage whome being aboute the Lattitude 21 North & in the month of December the Ship sprange a leake & it increased that we feared the Ship would not swime to carriue us to England. Therefore I went backe to Berbados whare I unladed the whole Ship & Carreened her & stoped the leake. Meanetime War broake out with france, this was Anno 1688, but by Gods good providence I came safely whome to England & made a good voiage boath for my owners & myselfe; thus God shewed me a token for good that made my enemies asshamed for I came home alone. The Ship being come whome Sr Josiah Child ordered me to acquaint the owners that the Ship must be sold, which was that he might have her wholy in his owne hands, for severall of the owners being great & rich men would oppose him in many projects of his designes: they see the meaning that he intended to have the Ship wholy in his owne hands & buy them out which was the thing intended: some that ware my friends advised me utterly to forsake goeing in ship Tonqueene & build a great new Ship & they would Continew owners with me & said they could bring in severall others to hold parts.

The Tonqueene to be sold.

I thanked them & told them I was very willing so to doe but was loath to leave S[r] Josiahs service, & they went with me to S[r] Josiahs house to discourse him one this matter & advised him to sell away the ship Tonqueene in which I could not gitt monies for the owners nor Creditt to myselfe. S[r] Josiah would not Consent, but said he would wholy buy the Tonqueene & I should goe in her & fitt her to my owne mind, & that he did performe as I did the other though Contrary to my owne intrest & benefitt, because I would not be ungratefull to my former Benefactour.

And is bought by Sir Josiah Child.

The ship being now very well fitted the Company had occation for slaves at Bencoolen one the West Coast of Sumatra, & 2 of their Capts Refused to goe one such a voiage although they offered to pay at the rate of 20 pounds p. head, therefore the voiage was put upone me as being a man brought up under hardships with misfortunes as if nothing worse Could befall me then what I had seene & gone through before. The ship being now wholy S[r] Josiahs & his family, although the voiage was hazardous in sundry respects yet since it seemed to be advantageous to him I willingly undertooke it, tho to me thare seemed but little profet to be made & I should a found it so had not providence wrought better for me abroad then was intended heere at whome.

Folio 33.

Who fits her for a voiage to Sumatra.

Instructions for the voiage.

For I was to saile directly for St. Laurence & carry what negros I could gitt thare to Bencoolen & thare to lade whome with pepper. At St. Laurence now thare was a dubble dainger, before onely the Negros but now that Coast was much hanted with sea pirates & Bencoolen the most sickely place in the known world that it is difficult to gitt seamen to goe such a voiage, & this S[r] Josiah appointed for my Lott & had thare bin pepper to a loaded the Ship whome from Bencoolen my voiage would have bin little better then bare wages, but thare being noe pepper I was sent to Bengall & from thence laded for England; this turned the Dice to run one my side.

There was so many Difficulties attended this intended voiage that S^r Josiah Child himselfe did somewhat doubt of Good Successe, but his great Zeale for the Compaines good made him forgitt the Hazard of his owne mony, & after he had given me all the Cautions & Instructions he could he left me to make use of them so far as to myselfe should seeme Convenient ; thus I tooke my leave of S^r Josiah haveing not one line in writing but onely verball instructions, & bad mee delay not but procuted my voiage. Then I went to S^r Joseph Hearne being Govener of the Comp^e to acquaint him that S^r Josiah had dispatched me & I came to receive his orders. (Note the Company had not one peniworth of goods in the Ship). He onely wished me a good voiage & said the Compaines letters should meete me in the Downs, & bad me not to delay so tooke leave thare & that night I lodged one board Ship at Gravesend. *The project a doubtefull one.*

By Contrary winds & other occations it was 5 or 6 dayes before I gott into the Downes whare I stayed 4 dayes longer but noe letters from the Company came. Meane-time the wind came Easterly which is a faire wind for my purpose, & thare ware 4 Guinie ships bound out who all resolved to take that opertunity of wind for thare was noe Convoy intended for us. Upon this I considered with myselfe & Consulted with my men if they ware willing to saile with these guiniea Ships; they all well approoved so to doe. This put me upon a resolve to saile since S^r Josiah Child, who was principally Concerned & acted for the whole owners, had left all to my Discression & the Company who had nothing in the Ship could loose nothing if any Accident should happen, therefor Concluded it not worth staying & loose such good Company, which was next to a Convoy, onely for letters, & we sayled from the Downs the 7 day of January 1690 with a prosperous gaile that Continewed to Carry us beyound any dainger of the French Crusers. Folio 34. *The Author starts with a faire wind.*

Had I missed this oportunity I had wholy lost my St. Laurence Voiage which was the most profitable part of *The dainger of delay.*

the whole, for the season of the yeare would have bin to far spent. Thare was one East India ship that should have sailed with me at gravesend, but by missing this oportunity she sayled not till May following & by her they sent the letters for India that I left.

In our passage out we fell in with 2 setts of french priviateteeres; they came neere & viewed us & departed from us againe. I tooke in some wine for my voiage at the Iland of Teneriefe, & thence proceeded directly for St. Laurence haveing had seasonable weather all the way heere. I found this Coast had bin infested with English pirates which sailed 4 or 5 dayes before I came in, & 3 ware one shore lost: many of theire men ware buried heere & some few ware living. Thanks be to God all my men Continewed in health thought I lay 3 month one this Coast. Whilst I rode at Anchor heere one Pirate ship sailed by me to another port 5 leagues distance, from whence he sent a message to tell me he would come to buy some stores etc. that he wanted, but I found I had bought all the slaves as that port afforded so sayled away not staying to suply his wants, for if his strength had bin more then mine I knew he would make his owne prise & perhaps exchange Ships into the bargan.

St. Laurence infested with Pirates.

Folio 35.

From hence I went to King Tomanuallarebo, Son of old King lightfoot & Elder Brother to Rybassa that so persecuted & plundred me in a former voiage. I sent up a man to tell him who I was & for what I came, & upon hearing my Name he saied his eares had seene me before when I came to his Brothers, & he would come downe to see me with his eyes. When he came & we mett we rubed noses & shaked hands in testemony of friendship & welcome & he seemed to bemoone me for suffering so much from the hand of his Brother, saying for that very Cause he slew him himselfe with his owne hand. I beleeve it was truth for I heard the same boath before & after from the Common people thare. In the end it prooved better to me that was the sufferer of wronge then to him that was the Dooer, & better also

King Tomanuallarebo.

Who slew Rybassa.

that I did forbeare to take revenge when I could have done it by firing small shott amoungst them after I had exchanged my men, as they satt in a heape one the sand & perhaps that might have bread Ill blood in some whose relations might have bin shott whareas my patience & forbarence breead good & produced pitty & Compation from all, in so much that the Kinge himselfe revenged my quarrell.

His wives & the manner of his adorning.

He told me he had 23 Wives; he brought with him aboute one Dozen & a halfe, they ware very much adorned with beads of divers Coullers, far more then the Queens of Rivovena King of Augustaine, but the King himselfe was in a plaine dresse but few beads, but had a great Retinew well armed; his grandure appeared by the power of his word & Absolute Authority he had over his people who wholy devoted themselves to his Command, for none durst buy nor sell but with his leave & at his price, but this is Relating to trade.

His Absolute authority.

I had cut a large peece of timber in the woods which I had not Strength to gitt out therefore desired the Kings assistance, which he willingly granted saying 'now you shall see how great a King I am', & Commanded all the men to deliver theire armes to his wives & Daughters, & then he ordered his Eldest Sonn Chemaniena to take all the men with him & Carry downe the tree that I had cut & lay it in my boate. So soone as the King had done speakeing the Prince Chemaniena & all arose & ran hollowing to the place, & tooke up the Timber upone theire sholders, the prince himselfe being at the foremost end, & ran it downe into my boate. Folio 36.

His Sonn's obedience.

The King & I walked hand in hand after them; with one hand he led me & in the other hand he held a bottle of Brandy saying unto me as we walked 'see how all obey my word', & when the worke was done Prince Chemaniena came & licked his fathers knees in testimony of his obedience, & helped us to drinke our bottle of Brandy & the Queenes & Kings Daughters & Court ladies delivered the armes againe to the Noblemen & Guards.

I shall give one instance more of his power & Justice. My Cooke hapned to Catch a lad stealeing a puter plate one shore in the very act & brought him to me; thare ware many eye witnesses so that he could not denie it. I bad put him in Irons to hold him that he should not run away tel I could send him to the King who was aboute 3 miles distance from me. The Same day I sent him to the King with my Doctor to require Justice of the King, but longe before I sent my prisoner the King had notice of all what had hapned & expected when I should send or bring the prisoner: thare went with my Doctor a youne man, sonn to a person of quallity, that was my interpreter to whose Charge I delivered the prisoner out of Irons. When they came neere to the Court they heard that the King was drunke, & my interpreter presumed to fun depending I supose upon his quality to delay bringing the boy to the King so longe that the King heard that I had sent him; for it was intended not to bring the prisoner before the King till next morning that he had sleept himselfe sober. At this the King was inraged against my interpreter & sent out his guards to Catch him but he flead, & they found the boy in his fathers house who was a man of good note that towne, & brought him to the King who was laying alonge one his bed against the Doore. He examined the boy who confessed the fact; at which the King rose up from his bed & tooke downe a Lance that stucke in the Thatch over his head, then the boy fell downe at the Kings feete beging mercy, & all aboute the King ran away. As my Doctor was runing away with the rest the King Called him to stay, saying he must see the Cap[t] should have Justice. Then the King tooke the boy by his left hand & lifted him up & led him out of the house, & directing his Lance against the boyes left side strucke it into his heart, & after the boy was fallen downe wallowing in his blood he strucke his lance twice throught his body, & then the King went & sett downe one his bed againe, haveing stucke up his lance in the Thatch, & his people came & stood aboute him & he

His power & cruwell Justice.

Folio 37.

He Kills a boy thiefe.

began a discourse tending to the necessity of that Cruwell Justice which he had done from an Action of mine at my first Comming which he breifely rehersed.

A younge lad that came passenger from England had gott a small lance & was throughing it onely for sport & exersice: it hapned as he throughe the lance alongth by the house side, not seeing anybody in the way, as the lance was flying alonge a negrow hapned to come crosse from the end of the house, & the lance strucke him one the ribs that the blood just came out & the lance fell downe. At this the people laid holde one the lad & brought him to me saying he had killed a blacke man. I went with my Doctor to see the wound which was so little that he could not put a tent in: however the man groned as if he ware mortally wounded & they sayed the blood all went inward: I thought it not fitt to make light of a wound done by a weapon of war lest heereafter it might hapen to be done to my side, but bad my Doctor dresse it thought dresseing was needlesse to so slight a wound & they carried the wounded man whome, who lay by it some dayes & I dayly sent my Doctor to dresse him till he could not see any signe of the wound. Meanetime I sent the younge lad one board & told them if the man should dye I would make satisfaction to the Kings Contentation: this the King hard of as he was comming on the rode, & sent to me for the price of a slave although thare was onely a man pricked & he now well recovered againe.

A young lad's mischance.

Folio 38.

I did not extenuate the fault because it was don with a weapon of war but told the Kings messengers I would prevent any such like action thareafter for the boy should not come any more one shore, & was willing to give the King what he required. They told me a gun would Content the King; that being but of a small valew Contented me as well to give it: however this the King tooke so well & as a high peece of Justice in me, that he bore it in mind & now tooke this opertunity to make me retaliation by killing the theife. Had I known his severity & Cruelty I would have lett the theife goe, but I was in

The Author Contents the King with a Gun.

hopes he would have given me the boy. His friends soone buried him neere the place whare he was executed & at my comming to the King he shewed me the blood dryed one the ground. I fared the better for this execution for before I had severall things stole away, but now I found myselfe safer.

I continewed trading heere till September & then I had notice that 2 Pirates ware riding at Augustaine; soone after we saw 3 Canooes sayling in the offing standing away to the Southward, at the same time some of this King Tomanuelarebos noblemen ware one board who told me these Cannoos belonged to Rivovena King of Augustaine, who ware Rogues & enimies to King Tomanuelarebo & earnestly pressed me to send my boate to Catch them. This brought me to thinke that they might be sent one purpose to Discover whare I lay, & to make report to the 2 ships that they might know whare to find me & so come & take me, therefore concluded it to be my Intrest to take them & Imediately I sent my boate well maned & armed & 2 of the Kings Noblemen in her to Chase those Canows, but before they could come up with them they got one shore & left theire Canows & ran away into the woods. One of the Canows my boate brought one board with them, in which was onely fishing gaire & some small Iron Minion shott to sinke theire hookes. I presented the Canow to the King who sent Imediately to seeke in the woods to Catch the men but found them not.

Folio 39. *They Chase the Enemies Canows.*

By this time I had got all the slaves that ware heere for they would scarce bring one in a weeke, & the season of the yeare was late & my Demerage began not till 4 months after my ariviall at Bencoolen, & I had cause to feare that those men whome I had Chased one shore would gitt to Augustaine & discover me to the Pirates: these reasons well Considered mooved me not to stay any longer. I tooke noe leave of the King fearing my Deniall one his unreasonable & important askeing might offend his majesty, but got all I had one shore into the boate in the night & brought it one board & set saile for Bencoolen

And set saile for Bencoolen.

whare in Decemr following I safely arived haveing buried but very few slaves in my passage. Heere according to agreement betweene the Compy & my owners I landed all the slaves I had brought for which I had Bills of exchange drawn on the Company by theire Chiefe dew at 40 dayes sight & payable to the owners in London.

At my first landing one this place the Second came as is Customary to meete me & welcome me one shore & goeing with me up the steps into the fort he fell downe & lay as dead one the steeps : this somewhat startled mee, haveing heard before of the outrageing sickenesse that reigned in this place & when I came up into the fort the Guard, which Consisted of aboute 20 men all looking like Ghoasts, put me into malloncholy thoughts at the first sight, but falling into discourse of Buisnesse with the Chiefe soone diverted me, & in some dayes the Gentleman that fell on the steps recovered againe for a little while & then died in earnest. I continewed one this West Folio 40. Coast of Sumatra aboute 4 months & was some what dilligent in observing the Country & products thareof, it haveing ever since my Memory bin imputed to be the most sickely Country in the known world. This coast all *The Country of Bencoolen described.* alonge is full of woods, & the land up in the Country is very high & mountainous & that by the sea side is not very low, for generally it falleth downe to the sea in Clifts. Joyning to our fort in Bencoolen is a plaine above 2 miles every way of dry hard ground full of longe grasse, which in dry weather they set one fire & it will run all over the plaine & Cleare the ground. The Country seemeth very pleasant & greene, the earth or soyle exceeding rich & firtile which I conclude from the growth of plants that I know well in other Countries, which heere I see grow much better & larger ; heere are of most sorts of rootes & plants & fruits that grow in India, all which florisheth *The fruits and plants.* & groweth so well that I am perswaded to believe the ground will beare any plant that can grow in hot Countries, for I take it for granted that all people beleeve that Could is naturall to some sorts & heats to others.

Full of Fine Rivers.

This Country also is full of fine rivers navigable for greate boates to goe many miles up in to the Country; but generally Barrd at the sea; also the land is full of Cleare springs which sendeth forth running streemes of pure water many of which I have Dranke of that I might make report of them, & to my pallate they tast altogeather as well as other Country waters.

Neither is the weather heere extraordinary hott althought it be so neere the equinoctiall; the reason I judge because the land is so greene & moissoned with runing rivers & streames, & the mountaines are at a great Distance. I have bin upon this Coast from December till June.

Raines.

The raines, Thunder. & Lightning one this Coast I confesse are very severe, that it powreth downe streemes instead of drops, yet sometimes it will hold faire as I have seene aboute Aprill & May one month togeather.

Timber.

The timber that groweth in this Country is large enough for Masts for any ship, but generally soft & spungie & when dry exceeding light & not very stronge; I beleeve growing in moist ground makes the wood so soft. The rice heere is as good as in other parts of India, & they have severall sorts of rice heere.

Folio 41. *Great plenty of Dammer.*

Dammer is plenty in this Country, which is a gum that runneth out from a wild tree & falleth one the ground, & when great fludes come it washeth it downe into the rivers & casteth it one the Shores whare people picke it up. It is like Rossen, & being boyled with oyle becommeth soft as pitch; which they use for all theire Ships in India as we doe pitch.

Few provisions and fewer people.

Provisions of noe Sort are very plenty, neither is the Country poppolous; the towns small & but few people in them & they lay a great distance assunder, & those few people which are heere appeare to be but a feeble leane small sort of people. These things I take to proceede as Consequencies from the Sickelinesse of the Country, for during my being one this Coast many of the Country people died & many lay Sicke. As for my owne part, notwithstanding I tooke all the care of myselfe

possible yet I should frequently be feaviourish, & then I would lay downe & cover myselfe hott & swett it out.

Thus much may serve for a Briefe account of Ben coolen & Coast Ajacent from nothing whareof I can infire any naturall Cause why this Country should be Sickely. I have heard some say it is much subject to fogs & ill sents, but I found it not so at my being thare more then in other Countryes, but that which I thinke causeth Sickenesse is a contagious Aire which proceedeth from no other Cause but the will of the Almighty Creatour, who turneth a fruitfull land into Barrennesse for the wickednesse of them that Dwell tharein. *The Cause of the Sicklenesse of the Country.*

Yet I see some Concurrant Causes that doth add to the Sickelinesse of the place, as first theire houses are leake & weet that a dampe steeme ariseth in them, with an earthy sent as in a Vault; that the wales are moist & sweat like Marbles. Secondly the Dyett that is dressed for the Companies table (in itselfe is good) is so nasty, as also the Dishes in which it is brought, that I beleeve it doth fowle the Stomacke & infect the body, & theire butter, bread, flower, etc., provision being brought so far, are spoyled or very bad before they have them, & thirdly the soldiers Dyat is Commonly Rice boyled in water, & so let stand tell it grows sower & hath a Sent & tast, for rice as it is new boyled hath noe more then Bread. *Damp Houses.* *And nasty Dyett.* Folio 42.

This rotted rice they eate so for want of fleesh or fish to rellish it, & it is so far become a Costome that noe perswadeing can make them leave it without giving them better victuals. For in the beginning of every month they are paid wages vizt 5 Dollers p. man p. month, & the stattude price of Punch is 1 Doller p. Bowl, so they buy rice enough to keepe them from sterveing & the rest they Drinke in Punch, & the Punch house is keept for the Govener & generally the soldiers are trusted to drinke one the Score, so that many of them that are good fellowes have not above one Doller dew at pay day to buy rice, for which he must make the afforesaid sause or eate it with nothing. *The soldiers provision.*

At my being thare I did moove, so far as became one in my Station, to have those inconveniences reformed, but thare was not wharewith to doe it. The houses ware Covered with plaster which the Guns firing had Shaken, & sometimes earthquakes happen & they wanted men of skill to mend them & make them tight, & for cookes they had only theire Common Slaves which knew noe better.

Reformed by the Author.

But as to the Soldiers diet, I carried it a great way that I found those who would undertake to victuall a man at 3 Dollers p. Month with 3 meales p. day, & at 2 Dollers p. Month with 2 meales p. day, & at 1 Doller p. Month for 1 meale p. day, to be dieted with very good & white rice with sauses of stewed hens or stewed fish, with hearbs, pumpkins, roots, &c, & most of the Soldiers put themselves to these quarters.

Laying so longe one this Coast had infected us that after I came to sea in my passage to fort St. George most of my men fell sicke, some of feaviours & some of fluxes & many died. I was faint to put into Trigombar to gitt refreshing for my men whare I was plentifully suplyed, & being late when I came to forte St. George I was soone Dispatched away with silver & satenage for Bengall, whare I arived in September Anno 1692, & gott up with my Ship very well into the river as far as Calcutta, which is aboute 200 miles up the river of Ganges. Heere I lay waighting for my lading of goods for England till Febrewary following but in coming downe the river the pilot run the Ship one a Sand, & She was neere overseting with a rich lading in her, but the tide washed away the sand from under the Ship & hove it up one the leeward side that the Ship leaned thareone, & lay so tell the flood tide came which lifted her of againe without any harme; thus God saved me from that dainger & brought me safe out into the wide sea whare the Pilot left me and returned one Shore.

The Ship near overset up the river of Ganges. Folio 43.

Danger from the French.

I knew at the same time thare ware 4 french men of Warr in the Indian Seas, & we at warre with france

therefore my Care was to shun meeting of them; therefor directed my Course Wide of the Cape DebonaSprance & passed it in a high Lattitude, & to shun them I would not goe into that port but passed away for St. Helena whare it was so late before I arived that I could not reasonablely beleeve that the french would lay thare waiting to expect any whomeward bound Ships. Heatherto the good providence of God attended on me & brought me and all my men in health. I stayed heere some time to refresh ourselves, but the longer that I might have the better Season to fall in with the Iland of Berbados when the Sun was not in theire Zeneth. Heere the same hand of divine providence brought me in in safety and not one man sicke amoungst us, and notwithstanding Sickenesse Raged yet not one of us ware touched till my men ware taken away to serve in one of the Kings Ships, whare they got the infection & brought it one board with them into my Ship that out of 38 men which I brought into this rode I had remaining but 25 to saile the Ship whome for Engl. when I departed thence, 3 of which ware Indians.

They fall into Berbados.

I rode thare the usuall seasons that Hurricans used to happen, as August & September, with onely my Doctor & 3 blacks one board with me, all the rest of my men ware taken away to serve in the afforesaid man of warr when if a Hurry Cane had happned as it did the very next yeere following in that very Season, vizt Sept. the Ship would have bin my Coffen & we unavoidablely must have perished togeather; also the Contagious feaviour, which destroyes so many & spares but few that it once fals on, seased one mee with great voiolence, but God suffered it not to destroy me but restored mee againe to perfect health; thus dayly doth he renew his mercies & dayly gives me new Causes to praise his name.

God's providence to the Author.

When I sailed from Berbados for England I had 4 smalle Ships, & of lesse strength then my Ship, in Company to assist each other in case wee should meete with an enemy, but aboute the Lattitude of Bermudas arose a storme that parted me from them & left me with- Folio 44.

out any vissible assistance. This put mee to seecke it elsewhare & to perscribe meanes, for my dayly prayers ware for Darke & tempestious weather & rageing Seas, that if I could not passe undiscovered to an eneminy yet he should not have a safe oportunity to come neere to board me.

Continewes on the voiage. But although it was the will of the Almighty God that I should come safe, yet his wisdome thought it unfitt to doe it after my devices, but would shew me that the wayes of the Most high are past mans finding out, & that the Darknesse & the light are boath alike to him; for when I came into the Soundings, which is the place of greatest Dainger, thare I found the weather Cleare & bright that I could be seene a greate distance, instead of the Darknesse that I prayed for to Cover mee, & the Winds very small & the Sea Calme, but he set an invissible guard aboute me that noe evell came neere my habitation; thus I came safe & alone into the Harbour of Corke in Ireland one the 23 day of December Anno 1693, & Contrary to my intended purpose which was to goe into the River of Waterford, in order to which I fell into the Eastward of Corke & was gott within 10 leagues of Waterford tell the wind came Contrary & forced me backe to Corke, which prooved to my great Advantage, whare lay a Kings Ship of 50 guns ready to saile for Plimouth, under whose Convey I went theather, whareas if I had bin at Waterford as I did intend I might have layen thare some months for want of Convey. In my passage from Corke to Plimouth we had a sore Storme of Contrary winds at S.E. which Continewed 5 dayes; worser weather I had not mett in my whole voiage. However I lost not Company of the man of warr but came safe with him into Plimouth, & soone after Came safe with the Ship into the river of thames. What Cause have I to give thankes unto the Lord that hath dealt thus bountifully with me whome the other day all men Despised & rejected as the most unfortunate of men, thus hath his providence lead me (in whose hands

The Author's arrival at Corke.

And at London.

Folio 45.

my times are) aboute upon the Earth & Seas in many various Conditions of life & driven me, as Mr. Baxter Sayeth by theratnings of great Callamities & Death to cry to heaven for healp when all earthly meanes failed, & by frequent & wonderfull deliverances hath answered my prayers incourageing me still to Cry to heaven from whence my helpe commeth.

I haveing had such Ample experience of the vanity & unsertainety in all Human Courses, I thought it best now to acquit myselfe from the Ship which grew old & defective, as did also myselfe, since God had blessed me with a little, and lie still at whome, for the Ship that I had was so small as to be a prey to every body that mett her, & the Warr with france grow so daingerous that it was very difficult for Marchant Ships to escape, in-so-much that most of the whomeward bound East India Ships ware taken that came after me.

At this time that I came whome Sr Josiah Child had a ship a building after his owne new invention to lie so light as possible that her owne weight should not make her swime deepe, therefore she was built of very small timber that would not hold boring to drive trunnells, & the plancks ware onely nailed; these timbers ware also made very thine that the hold should be the wider to Carry the more goods, & all the timbers ware placed very wide assunder for Aire to come betweene that the timbers should not stiffene one the other. This Ship was aboute 350 tunns but however her gun decke & great part of the upper worke was onely fir, in fine she was built so slight to make her light that I thought it would be hazardous in bad weather to be at Sea in her. This Ship (after the intended purpose she was built for fayled) Sr Josiah Child offered me to goe Commander & Chief Marchant for Bencoolen & China.

A Ship of Sir Josiah Child's invention.

Tis offered to the Author. Folio 46.

Although I liked not the Ship in no respect yet this was a tempting voiage, but now the Company had taken away all the freedome formerly they gave in their indulgences to trade in Small things, and for all whatsoever

goods any man traded in, they must pay the Company a mult or permission ; the Consideration hereof Dampd my intentions that I came to a pause wheather in these daingerous times of war I should goe to Sea with lesse priviledges then ever I did in time of peace, & it stucke the harder upon me because I wase not Necessitated by want, but could live very well & safely one Shore, & tho this new Ship was as big againe as the Tonqueene which I left, yet she was the worst ship except the Tonqueene that was imployed in the service of the Company, so that I did not thinke myselfe well dealt by after so many yeares sufferings in theire Service, & to bringe theire goods whome twice in the height of war in a small Ship of noe Strength, to have but a bad Ship still, & besides to be musled & wholy Debarred from eating any grapes while I worke in the vineyard but what I must pay the East India Comp^e^ permision for, & to this efect I discovered my mind to S^r^ Josiah Child.

But he mislikes her.

And displeases Sir Josiah accordingly.

He was not pleased that I misliked a Ship of his owne invention, and Secondly, that I thought much to serve the Company one the forementioned termes to pay permition for all goods I traded in myselfe. I answered it was more then ever I had done before & desired the same priviledge as I used to have. He told me they could not allow Indulgences ; I replyed I thought any man could give that which he could sell, but this seemed like popish Doctring who will not part with Bulls & Pardons without mony. At this he grew more displeased ; I told him I did acknowledge his faviours ware great as in puting me into a Ship when I came first from Captivity ; Secondly in Continewing me in her when the Company would have expelled me from theire Service, for being an unfortunate man, &c, & ware the Ship to goe in his owne service and one his account I was so far from making termes with him of whose generous dealings I had such large experience that I would leave wages & all at his discression ; but I had noe reason to rely on the East india Company who had never showed me any

Folio 47.

kindnesse or favioure onely a guift of twenty pounds for 20 years Slavery; this they gave as a deede of Charity & at my coming whome of my first voiage from Tonqueene they multed me fourty & five pounds for that which they owned to be noe transgression, vizt, Trade from one port to another in India was expressed to be free notwithstanding the oath in theire Indulgence Anno 1681, in order to which I bought 600 peeces Silkes to sell at Batavia which I could not doe, & from thence I was to saile directly for England. *The favours of the East India Company.*

These silkes I offered to the Companies factore thare at the price they cost me, which they refused to buy not beleeving they would turne to any account in England, for the Company had never dealt in that sort of Silkes; this being good part of my estate I could not leave them behind, me therefore desired the factors to advise the Company in the Generall letter that I was necessitated to carry them whome to England, which they did as fully as if I had indited it myselfe; but notwithstanding it was the first penny I had gott to begin the world after my Captivity, by the law of Mult I could not be pardoned but Condemned, & paid it, & when in my Second voiage my Ship was run away with & all that I had in the world was in her & I left with onely Cloaths one my Backe, in stead of pitty I was Blamed althoughe my perticular losse was far greater then the whole Companies, which was but 4 Bales of coarse Cloath & the men that Committed the fact rather Justified, when as by all the Suggestions that any of my adversaries could make against me none could charge me higher then to have starved my men who ware fed with S^r^ Josiah Childs Beefe, for thare was no other in the Ship, neither doe I to this day know any Cause why the Company should be incensed against mee, unlesse it ware because I did incline to Cleave more to S^r^ Josiahs side & intrest then any other; & it is frequently so when any are angry with another they are displeased with those whom he loves & that love him, especially when the party is above theire reach, & when I came whome from *The law of Mult.* Folio 48. *Anger breeds anger.*

Surratt one my third voiage full laden & without any Damage they would not lett mee goe unpunished, & since they could not bring mee under the law of mult, for I had bin at Berbados before I came whome & sold what I had in America, for the prohibition extended only to Europe, yet they found a way to Catch mee & Charged me £383 for damages in bringing a Ship of Sindy in the Percia the place she was bound to if I had not mett her according to the Kings Commission, But S^r Josiah Child stood my friend & saved mee.

The valew of a rich Cargoe.

And one my fourth & last voiage when I had run the Gantlope in the height of war with france, gone out & come whome alone without any Convey, & bin at such places that scarce any would goe, & finished all I undertooke efectually & brought whome a very rich Cargoe, which sold heere for aboute ninty thousand pounds Sterling, that the Company could object nothing against mee for any mismanagement, for by Gods assistance all things went well even with him who not longe since they would have rejected for an unfortunate man; & as Labans Countenance was Changed towards Jacob because God had blessed him, so the Company Dealt by mee, for what little I had brought whome for my owne use they favioured me not one peny in theire accustomed permision, saying I might well afford to pay somewhat to the Company out of my profet I had made at Berbados where I had sold my goods, althought it was by order that I went thare, whareas I thought one the Contrary they could doe noe lesse then give me free those few nessesary goods I had brought for my owne use since I had made so good a voiage for them through so many great perrills & hazards. And after that the accounts of the whole fraight & demorage for the voiage ware Adjusted & Signed, they Charged me to pay for 5 peeces of Callicoe they said ware wanting in tale in one of the bales which I never saw neither packed nor opened: I pleaded the unreasonablenesse of the thinge to pay for that which I excepted against in Bill of Lading, vizt 'inside & Contents

Folio 49. *The Companies harsh Dealings.*

unknown', & the fault might be in the packer, however since the Committy had Adjudged me Guilty I was faint to pay it, which was but £5. 10s. & I thought not well worth Contending for.

After this I had 10 peeces of fine Cosses sent p. ship Sampson from Bengall for a small Debt I left owing thare, & I never received but 7 peeces; those they rated at £5 p peece in order to deduct 18 p cent for permision. I told them I would willingly pay the permission if they would please to take the goods at theire owne price, which they thought was to Deere & then rated them at £4 pound p. peece & 2 peeces of remolls at £3 boath which I sold at that very price, but this I note that the Kings Customes came to but 41 Shillings but my permision paid to the East India Company was five pound nine shillings & ten pence.

The substance of what I have heere incerted I related then to S^r^ Josiah Child as sufficient reasons to direct me not to rely one the Companies faviours & kindnesses which I could never find; notwithstanding I can say with Jacob as he did to Laban, I have served them with my might, & therefore desired to make a firme Bargane & know what I might expect.

Sir Josiah Child displeased.

These arguments against the Companys hard dealings towards mee, which I offered him to make full proofe of, Displeased him more then all that I had said before, for he knew that all the laws & Customes that the Company stered by ware of his owne making, & therefore tooke it as Spoken against himselfe though I used the Companies name; he could not well Justifie the Company against these Remonstrances that I had alleged & offered to proofe, but burst out in a hot passion saying 'you shall not goe in the ship'. I was sorry to see him excercise his passion instead of Acting by reason, & began humbly to intreat his pardon for what he tooke amisse of my Discourse, telling him that tho I did looke one Ancient Customes as Legall rights made me insest so far, yet since he disliked treating for tearmes with the Company I would

Folio 50.

renounce all out of Duty towards himselfe, & desired he would permitt me to proceede in the ship.

His anger waxes hot against the Author.

His anger was so hott that my Submission Could not prevaile but said he knew I would serve him to obliged him, but he scorned to be served so since he could have five hundred pounds to put one in Commander (I could not but know all this was but talke although thare hath bin Sumes of mony given to come into greate ships, whareas such as are able to give £500 would Scorne to Command such a Ship as this) as well as I knew that it was for his owne Intrest & not for mine that he would have me goe in her, else he would not have barred me from former priviledges of profett.

The Author's Answer.

My Answer was that 12 yeares now I had bin in his Service & had performed 4 voiages & given him good Content, & never had so much as one unkind word from him. It Chiefely troubled mee that after all when old age was upon laying me by from further imployment in the world then to incur his displeasure. At this he told me he perceived I designed to have a great Ship & he had done holding parts in new ones, but when those abroad came whome I should have a ship to my mind, but they ware all taken & lost coming whome ; however afterwards I perceived this was but a tricke to detaine me from goeing in interlopers &c. for not longe after he came in ¼ part in 2 great Ships.

Folio 51. *Mishapp to Sir Josiah Child's new Ship.*

This ship that was built after S^r^ Josiah Childs invention was not fitt for Sale but lay one the builders hands, in so much that S^r^ Josiah was faint to hold part & offered her to any that could gitt owners without £500, & a younge Pusser with much adoe gott owners for her & was Commander. But as she was riding at the Chaine at Depford with most of her provisions & stores one board, by mishapp she came one shore & her timbers being small & weake they breake all assunder at the ronge heads from one end of the Ship to the other, for she could not bare her owne weight, & so filled with water which dammped all her bread & dry provisions. At length by much

labour they gott the Ship upright, & nailed boards one the broken places to stope out the water that she might swim to gitt her into a docke, & had it not bin that all her stores ware new & would sell at greate losse they would not have thought the ship worth the fitting, which came to aboute sixteene hundred pounds.

Had I bin Master of her most would have said that my old lucke had overtaken mee againe, but now one the Contrary my happienesse it was that I was Cleare of her, for some that ware owners said they wished She had bin at my Charge when this damage happend, for I being able should have made it good. I ought not to overlooke this but account it a providence of God towards mee whose Blessings are so great that want cannot drive mee to run myselfe into a visible & apparrent Dainger, & after a great expence occationed by her longe stay to be repared with all her men one board in vittuals & full pay, she went to Sea bound for Bengall & thankes be to god I am safe at whome without want.

She sailes for Bengall.

After this the Company would have mee goe Chiefe either to St. Helena or Bencoolen, boath which are but inconsiderable places either for profett or esteeme & the latter the most Sickely part of the known world to either of which places none but Such as are under the want of foode & raiment would goe. I refused these theire faviours telling them the true reason vizt. that Gods Blessings to mee ware such that I could live at whome in my Native Country far more Comfortablely then in either.

Whilest I lay at whome Idle the Scotch had made an act of Parliament for an east India Company in that Kingdome with great priviledges & Custome free for 21 years. This was so well approoved of in London that many became Subscribers in-so-much that in one weeke they had three hundred thousand pounds Subscribed & $\frac{1}{4}$ part paid in in Ready mony, & I also subscribed one thousand pound & also offered myselfe to goe in theire Service to India. This the English East india Company tooke as an

The Scotch East India Company.

Folio 52.

The Author repremanded for subscribing to the Scotch East India Company.

ill action, & I was sharply Repremanded by Severall of theire members Saying I was turned Rebell & had broaken my oath of allegence, which oath was onely to restraine all tread from Europe to India, & India to Europe, except what they permitted during theire Joynt Stocke, which Joynt Stocke was lost & divided, for in Anno 1693 thare was a new Subscribtion to carry one the trade, the old Stocke being insufficient, also they had a new Charter wharein it was expressed that the old was forfited by not paying the Dew tax in due time ; therefore I concluded my oath did not Bar me from any other impliment, neither thareby had I sold myselfe to the Company to doe with me as to them should seeme good : but when the English parliament came to sitt they over-through all the Scots proceedings, & Charged the Directors guilty of high Crimes & misdemeanours for raising mony & administring oath in this Kingdome of England, so everyone with drew theire Subscribtion & it was as if it had never bin.

He is offered to be Chiefe Factour at Spawhawn.

Some time after this S[r] Josiah Child offered mee to be Chiefe factour for the Company at Spawhawn in the Kingdome of Percia, which was a high & honorable Station fitt onely for a Marchant, & so exscused myselfe alledgeing my unfitness, but S[r] Josiah would not admitt of that excuse saying he knew my abillity. I could not reasonablely except against such an imployment, but it did not sute with my Disposition in regard of my age now to leave my native Country & live abroad ; & I did likewise mistrust he was willing to Send me out of the way lest I should be imployed by the Companies Adversaries, for if they once had me thare I could not safely gitt whome againe & then they could easely punish me by saying I was become a Rouge & lay what they please to my Charge, whilst by my far distance I am debarred to Speake for myselfe, therefore I resolved to prevent this seemeing dainger, which me thought was the more likely since they would have me to stay one shore to serve them one the land, in which I had not so much skill nor experience

But Excuses himselfe with reasons.

Folio 53.

as one the Seas, & therefore could the sooner picke a hole in my Coate.

I was Carefull not to ofend S^r Josiah in refusing this offer therefore said but little then onely alleging my Disabillity, but thought it better with Consideration to give him my Answer in a letter wharein I Signified how disagreeable it would be to my Age to live so remote, & that now I was to old to learne a new trade, & that it was in expectation of Serving him at Sea that I was yet at whome, & his Service I should alwayes account my greatest happienesse; & I heard noe more of this matter, & one of theire Clearks who belonged to the Accountants office was sent theather, for I never prest forward as to moove or petition the Company for imployment Considering the great Difficulties & Daingers one the seas in this war with france, for 5 of theire best ships ware taken in one yeare, & those that went one ware so Delayed by want of Convey & Cloged by other impedements, as scarcety of men &c., that made the voiage very unprofitable to owners as the restraining of priviate trade did to seamen. These things Considered since God had Blessed mee with somewhat to maintaine mee, I thought it not amisse to rest myselfe at whome in my native Country.

Too old to learne a new trade.

The sume of this that I have writen of passages of my owne life is a history of Providence, which when I looke over & Consider how many Daingers Almighty God hath led mee through & strangely preserved mee, it causeth mee to remember an accident that hapned in my youth when I was aboute 14 years of age vizt. I fell from a horse & pitched one my head, which so stunned mee that I was carried whome sencelesse, but it pleased God that I soone recovered & was well. This I must owne to be a great Mercy, but to my Mother it was such that in her last letter that ever she wrote to mee, which was some time after I was at sea, she stricktly Injoyned mee never to forgitt that great mercy which to the others that God hath since showed mee was but a small one.

God's providence in his youth.

Folio 54.

I goe not to Deminish Gods Mercies, but to Magnifie

Is continewed to him.

them, & from hence I infer that if my good Mother had lived to see the strainge & wonderful Diliverances (since) that God hath wrought for mee, which excelled the former like as Isralls Diliverance out of Babilon did theire redemption out of Egypt, what a strickt Command would she then Injoyned mee by, & how vehement would her exhortation have bin to serve my redeemer faithfully all the dayes of my life; & notwithstanding since I have lived to receive & injoy so many wonderfull Diliverances ought I to be the lesse thankefull, God forbid.

Yet he is not permitted to increase in worldly riches.

From all Gods Mercifull Dispensations to mee all my life longe I make this observation, that although he sett his Providence to watch over mee for good yet he would not permitt me to increase in worldly riches &c., but continually, & from time to time, fed mee with foode Convenient for mee, as he did the Isralites with manna in the wildernesse which they gathered day by day & could not lay up in store, for when by a Dilligent & industerous struggling in the world I had gott a little togeather, 5 times he stript me naked & tooke all away, but still leaveing me food & raiment with which St. Paull saith we ought to be Content.

The Author's faire increase in Zelone.

The first time was when he tooke me from Liberty & Delivered me up into the hands of heathens, when I lost all that I had scraped togeather in the world which was somewhat Considerable for a younge beginner according to my Minority; but however noe man can loose more then (All), & heere one Zelone I began with nothing againe haveing onely food given mee by those that keept mee onely to eate it, & by a Dilligent hand I had againe gott somewhat togeather Chiefely By Kneeting &c., & then by a Rebellion that hapned as I have related in fo. (60) for want of the Kings subsistance my necessities Consumed all I had gotten.

Then I began againe in my New quarters whare by the Kings orders I was placed as I have mentioned in fo. (141), & no sooner was I settled & gott a little in hand, but the Hollanders Armie coming neere mee, I was carried

Folio 55.

away into the mountaines. By this meanes I was quite undone & Broake againe : this was the third time. Then I dwelt one the top of a high Mountaine whare I could find noe wayes or meanes to gitt a penny but onely out of my fingars ends & I plyed Kniting Dilligently, & in time God Blessed me with a small stocke againe with which I bought a peece of ground & Dwelt thare one & had a full trade by lending corne one Intrest, that I left of knitting for my substance increased to so much as I could manage that I forbore to receive Maintainance from the King : this God put into my heart to forsake vollontarily when I flead for my Native Country leaving all that I was possessor of behind, & came out of that Country, whare I had dwelt neere 20 years, as poore as I came into it. This was the 4 time that providence stript me of this worlds injoyments.

Is broake.

His Substance is againe increased but he forsakes it vollontarily.

Then being returned from my Captivity one Zelone to my native Country of England, by Gods good providence I went out Master of a ship for China & his providence brought me safe whome, & so blessed me in my baskett & my store that I had more worldly substance then ever I was master of before in my whole life ; but it was his blessed will to shew me againe the uncertainety of all earthly things in the next voiage, haveing all I had in the world with me in the ship my owne men run away with her, & devided all that I had, even cloaths also, amounge themselves as free plunder ; the manner with the Circumstances I have related in fo. 24 of Manscript. Then I came to England poorer & more Destitute then when I came out of my Zelone Captivity, for then I had some small patrimony to receive & pittied by all, or at least not hatted by any, but now these two Comforts failed me for my patrimony was received & lost, & I was Despised & hated by more then pittied, even as if I myselfe had Committed the fact especially by the members of the East India Company ; but since I have observed it is the Common fate of men in Distresse & in low Circumstances, to be despised & scorned as it is to applaud & magnifie

The Author blessed in his store.

Folio 56.

The Generall rule to measure Actions by Successe.

the rich & prosperous, as the Generall rule is to measure Actions by the Successe, & this was the 5 time God tooke all from me. However God forsooke me not but his providence so ordered & Disposed matters that I went to sea againe, & made 2 successfull voiages in which he dealt by me as by Job & gave me more than ever I had before.

This I speake to the praise of his glory who hath bin with me in all estates, for his mercy indureth for ever & shewed me tokens for good that they that hate mee doe see it & are ashamed.

This that I have writen is a true account of many remarkable passages or providences that have befallen me to the yeare 1694, which I would not have forgotten by myselfe espicially (nor my Relations) wharein I observe how uncerchable are Gods wayes & his workes past finding out, for his providence hath raised me up, & lest I should take to much Contentment in earthly things, the same hand of Providence hath pulled me downe & taken all from mee, & then strangely like Jonahs Gourd he hath made them grow againe to my admiration beyound what my reason could Deserve ; & thus hath he dealt with mee time after time that I might be senceable that my healp cometh onely from the lord, which I could not so plainely have perceived if he had led me in a plaine & even way, which would have tempted me to sett my heart too much one these transitorie things from which I have seene Causes enough, besides God Commands to weane my mind from them & not to expect for the time that I have got to live any more Certainety of the Continuance of these earthly things that now his providence hath intrusted in my hand then of those that he hath taken from mee.

God's wayes & workes uncerchable.

Grant I besweetch thee that I may have my portion in heaven, & quietly with Confidence relye one thy promise, Hebrews the 13 Chapt. ver. 5 & 6, 'I will never leave thee nor forsake the,' Amen. Augt. 8th, 1696, Robt. Knox.

Folio 57. In fol. 142 I have wrote that my Choice & Chiefe friend Mr. John Loveland & I dwealt togeather in one

house at Laggendenny, which when I left & went to my owne house in Elledat, he also remooved from Laggendenny into his owne quarters at Gompola whare he had his allowance or maintainance by the Kings order when he dwealt in Lagendeny, which was an ease boath to himselfe & the people that before used to Carry it to Laggendenny to him. In the same towne of Gompola I had my allowance which I fetched & carried myselfe one my backe to my house at Elledatt which was aboute 4 miles distance. Some years after Mr. Loveland began to fall sickely, & had a mind to come & be with mee at my house in Elledat, we being 4 Englishmen togeather, for tho he had then with him a blacke Boy to dresse his victualls &c service yet he wanted mee & English Company, which I as willingly assented to knowing we Could bee more helpfull & Comfortable in a heathen Country.

Mr. John Loveland the Author's Chiefe Friend.

Begins to fall sickely at Gompola.

After his comming to my house his disease increased to runing paine from one part of his Boddy to another exceeding voiolent (which kind of paines are usuall in this Country) that made him roare out, some little intermission now & then betweene fits as the paines shifted from one part of his body to the other, which commondly kill those that are so seased, as it did him. His last fitt being very voiolent I tooke him up in my armes & his head lay on my left sholder. He was in his perfet sences & earnestly prayed to God either to ease him or remoove him hence by death, repeating a sentence in the practice of Piety (which book he had with him when taken prisoner here) vizt. that his Saviour had endured far more for him & why should not he meekely submitt to his blessed will, & bad me equially to devide that small substance God had given him which was about 50 shillings to the 3 Englishmen, vizt. Stephen Rutland, Ralph Knigh & Rodger Gold that dwelt with mee, giving me onely a silver tobacko pipe saying God had blessed mee to have no want & they ware poore, but his Cloaths & what I though fitt more he bad me to give to his boy who had served him well. These 3 men ware then all absent (the

His substance divided to the Englishmen.

2 former since escaped & died heere in England). He added no more but grones & earnest prayers to God, tell he gave up the Ghost, which was one the 22 of October, Anno. 1670, in my armes. In all my life I never had such an intire intimate friend as he; I may Compare us like Jonathan & David. He hath often told me that this Captivity was the greatest of mercies that ever God had bestowed one him, haveing so longe absented the Church that he was affraid to looke into it at last, & Concluded that if God had then sknatched him away by Death he had perished. He was in the whole course of his Captivity an exceeding pious & devoute man, & injoyed the sweete stock of it at his departure as not daunted at Death but in full assurance of Gods mercy to him in Christ Jesus.

Folio 58. *He dies in the Authors armes*, 1670.

His Burial.

We 4 Buried him as Decently as our Circumstances would permitt Just behind my house, & I doe from my heart affairme, God & my Conscience being Witnesse, I did performe his will punctually & was better pleased he had so Charatably disposed his (all) Estate then if he had given it to myselfe, which I know he did not for want of Love but to releeve the Needy.

I have added this because I have heard some of Mr. Lovelands Relations have wished to heare more of him. Rob[t] Knox,

Folio 59. *The war with France ended.*

In Anno. 1697 it hapned that by Gods great mercy the longe & Wasting war with france was ended, & a firme peace Concluded, in which the English East india Company had lost 8 Considerable ships. By this & other troubles they ware brought to such low Circumstances that they ware faint to borrow mony at Bottomary at 17 p. Cent to Continew theire trade, & gave notice that they had occation to hire ships one fraight.

I haveing now for 4 years bin at home grew wary of an Idle droneish life. God Continuing to me health & strength, thare was an overture made to me of a new ship above 500 tuns to goe Commander if could gitt her into the East India Comp[es] service, which proposall I liked so

well that without delay I went to Sr Josiah Child my old Master & made a tender of her with my service to goe for India, the exceptance whareof I little Doubted he haveing formerly promised me the first vacancy, but Contrary to my expectation God showed my thare was no trust in man. *The Author tenders his services to Sir Josiah Child.*

I mett with such a repulse by his expressions that strangely amased me, & the more because it was so Contrary to what he had often said of me boath before my face & behind my backe, Commending me boath for honesty, good husbandry & industery & this not onely to one or two but to all, although he knew as much of me while I was 12 years in his service as after I had bin 4 years out of it one shore, as appeared by his excepting my accounts, to all which I had a full discharge under his hand &c; but now after some hums & haws he began to make himselfe angry telling me hee had not forgott how I had charged wages for 2 slaves that I had bought in India which served in the ship when I wanted men, for out of 38 men that I carried out of England I brought home but 25 with them 2 slaves, althought before (for I concealed them not, it being Costomary for all Commanders so to doe, for I had but one Engl. apprentice in the ship) when I asked his advice how to keepe them from the Presse which was hott, being a time of war, he Directed his daughter Howland to assist me by her intrest with Admirall Russells Lady, which was great by the Marrage of her Daughter to the Marquesse of Tavistocke who was of that family; which Madam Howland did, & procured me a protection for them from the presse under the Admiralls owne hand, who was then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, but althought it was no fault then, yet now it would serve for a stone to fling at a Dog. *But is repulsed with angry words.* Folio 60.

Secondly, he upbraided me of being a subscriber to the Stoch East India Company, which at that time when I told him thareof he so far approoved by the large priveledges & imunities granted them in theire Act of Parlia- *The Scotch East India Company an offence.*

ment, that he said to me that if he ware a younger man & had not such great Anchors downe, meaning, he said, his daughter & Grand Daughter married into two great families, before May next he would have a house in Edinburge, for he beleeved it would be the greatest thing in the World, but now that which before he Approoved of & Magnified now to serve a turne was Charged one me as a crime.

Another fault to refuse a new ship.

Thirdly, he ripped up another fault, that I had had the Honour to Refuse a new ship that was proffered me, but now I should find how difficult a thing it would be to gitt a ship into the Companies service, although at the same time the Company gave publick notice that they Wanted ships to hire, & intertained in theire imployment three straing ships & Commanders that had never bin in theire service nor in India, & told me further that it was worth one Thousand pound to gitt a ship in theire service. This discourse of his gave me sufficient cause to beleeve that his former proposalls to me to goe Chiefe either to Bencoolen, St. Helena or Spawhawn in Percia was but a trape to Catch me in, & keepe out of the way & prevent me from becoming an Interloper.

Folio 61.

I tooke this discourse as a full discovery of his mind & intentions towards mee, & Concluded it vaine to make any further addresses to him seeing how Implacable his disposition is towards his Eldest Son & youngest Daughter who, notwithstanding all manner of Addresses & applications, he will not admitt into his presence ; & this hath bin theire case for many years as also all the Rest of those that ever I knew that ware his favorites (onely Capt. Heath excepted), of which number I was one all the time I served him which was 12 yeares ; to proove this point I will incert the names of those that I knew in the time I served. First Mr. Samuel Griffith, Marcht, John Sewell, Cash keeper, Tho. Baker, Bucher, Robt. Holding, Dep^e^ Govenor of St. Helena, Tho. Robins Baley, & Tho. King, Overseer of his house of Wansted & Mr. Edward Snelgrove Bilder, all these for many years he highly

Sir Josiah Child's favorites.

praised for theire fidellity as he did me, but now are all Rejected as Rogues & villans, so that I have but neighbours fain in this thought not in taking wages for 2 slaves I bought in India, which was never before Charged as a Crime one any Commander although frequently practised by all & not alwayes out of necessity for want of men as mine was.

Notwithstanding this repulse I had a mind to know what opinion the East India Compᵉ had of me, & went first to Mr. Rob Blackebourne, Secretary, & Discoursed him Concerning presenting the afforesaid Ship & my service to the Company, & by the incouragement he gave me I went to Mr. Gorge Boone then Govenor who I found boath very Willing & ready to except Me & the Ship; by this I saw playnely the Stope lay onely in Sʳ Josiah Child, whose Intrest & Influence I knew to be so great by plasing & Displaseing whome he pleased, or at least it could not would bare me such a grudge as in the end would be fatall to My designe. I thought it my Intrest to desist rather then thrust myselfe in at a backe doore, to prevent coming of with Disgrace & made no further progresse in that affaire, and the Ship was not Imployed.

Sir Josiah Child's Intrest & Influence.

In a short time after thare was a new ship of 500 tuns built by Mr. Samuell Shepherd, Designed for East India as an Interloper or free ship, whare by my friends Concerned tharein I had an invitation & without Delay I made a tender of my Service & found an Unanimous reception, which I was Joyfull at to see that God had not left me destitute of friends & gave me a better imployment then in the Companies service.

Folio 62. *The Author goes as Interloper.*

This I thought fitt to leave upon Record under my owne hand that the world may see the Cause that I went in an Interloper, & not in the East India Compᵉ service wharein I had bin in Actuall service 15 years, & in Bondage taken in theire service 19 yeares & a halfe, whare I lost my father & the prime time of my life vizt., my youthfull dayes from the Age of 20 to 40 yeares, for the

And the Cause.

losse of which time they gave me as gratuety twenty pound after my escape when I came to England, which was by the onely Mercy & providence of God & not by any meanes or Charge of theires; & yet I am Charged as ungratfull to my Benefactors in whose service I have gotten an estate, for which indeede I have great Cause to Blesse God more then them who by high Mults &c., indeavered to prevent it, & now envie mee for it as Laban did Jacob after his longe service performed & great hardship tharein.

Ungratefull Masters as Servants.

But I presume thare may as well be ungratefull Masters as Servants in prefering men boath younger in service & Command, as well as age, into theire great ships, as also Interloping Capts. & Straingers who had never bin in theire service & some that never had bin in India, & rejecting me who now had bore Command longer then any of theire Capts., & as boath for my abillity & fidillity I never yet heard anything Charged against me by any of the Company, but would have me serve them in a bauble of a ship which I would have excepted of had they not then taken away the Indulgence, as they call it, which is leave to bringe whome toyes & small things of little valew free of mults, which the same yeare that S^r^ Josiah Child Rejected me was granted to all theire ships & Commanders, which I beleeve was not out of love more to them then mee, but of feare to prevent some ill Consequences which
Folio 63. they thought would attend it. Whare as they never Reckon what I have lost by theire service in the 20 years I was in Captivity, in which time by Gods Blessing it is very probable I might have acquired a far greater worldly estate, standing faire to have bin Commander of my fathers ship the next voiage, for he intended to goe no more to Sea if God had brought him well home.

The Authors circumstances frustrated by Captivity.

I beleeve further waying & Considering the Circumstances I stood in in Anno 1660, the yeare I was taken Captive in theire service, I stood as faire in human probabillity to advance my selfe in the world as many if not most of the now present East india adventurers (excepting

those who ware borne to fortune) who have since attained to dignities & Riches. Sure I am many of those that now Charge me with Ingratitude cannot deny this, & yet upbraid mee with the little estate God hath given mee after many hazards & hardships I have gone throught to serve the Company. Some Charge mee with breach of my oath of fidellity to the Company: they knew best wheather theire meaning is Gods Glory & the Good of my Soule, or theire wordly Intrest, fearing the Consequence of my goeing to India in an Interloper.

I doe not in the lest make light of an oath, but one the Contrary account it a very Sacred thing, but my oath never bound mee to serve onely them & no other, no, not when they would not imploy mee to my Contentation & prefer Juniors in Command over my head before me; heerein they Act like the Dog at the Mainger who hinders the horse & eate no hay himselfe, & why is that unlawfull to me which the Parliament of England, who are the explainers as well as the makers of our English Laws, have voted in January anno 1693, viz[t] trade to the East Indies equially free to all the Subjects of England unlesse prohibetted by act of Parliament; from hence I infer that the Companies pretended power to Monoplise the East India trade is not onely without law but against it, & further, theire old Charter being forfited, as is said in the new one which this King granted one that account with a new Subscription, doth undeniably in my Sence make the former voide, & in truth I beleeve they will not say themselves but the old East India Stocke was wholy devided or otherwise Consumed.

Trade to the East Indies to be free.

And since they cannot Deny (for I challeng theire answer) but that I was faithfull to all trusts they Imposed one mee allthe time I served them; I cannot see whare in I have made a breach of trust when I am discharged from theire service, unlesse it be to follow my Lawfull Cauling, & another part of the oath is not to trade in such things they have & shall prohibitt during the Joynt Stocke. One part I have a Answered before, that a new Subscription

Folio 61/64.

when no Stocke was left is a new Stocke, & for theire prohibition they have made it free to all theire ships that pay them 18 p. Cent, like the Pope who cannot Dispose of his pardons to eate flesh in Lent &c., without Mony. But I take the bottome of all in that they invie my happenesse to see that I have another & better Imployment then I had in theire Service.

Another objection to the Author.

Thare is another objection made against my goeing for India which is that I am not necessitated by want; I thanke God thare is some truth in this, but it is an impertinent question in them to aske & to Frivolous for mee to answer.

This I thought fitt to leave upon Record to posterity for my owne vindication under my owne hand, this 15 day of Febrewary 1697, Robt. Knox.

Folio 62/65. *He sails in the ship Mary.*

Anno 1698 one the 3 day of May I set saile out of the Downs in the ship Mary bound first for Cadix thare to take in silver, & from thence for Suratt in the East indes one a priviate account, Alias Interloper, & 18th. Instant, by Gods good Blessing we safely arived at Cadix, & set saile from thence 12th June, bound directly for Suratt, onely watered at St. Augoe, & the first land made after was the Iland of Zelone one the 30 day of Octobr, but delayed so much time one the Coast of Mallabar for pepper that it was the 1st., Feby $169\frac{8}{9}$ before we came to Suratt.

And finds an old fellow captive.

At my being at the Citty of Cocheene I found thare an old fellow prisoner, Captain Blickeland, who was Captive with me one the Iland of Zelone under King Raja Singa & was set free after his Death: he Confirmed that his son who, as it was beleeved thare by all people was dead, as I have written in Fo. 46, then Reigned King, with Whome the Duch made a treaty of peace & all prisoners of theire nation upon the same ware sent downe to the City of Colomba, but no other prisoners whatsoever ware releesed. His name is Cornelius Blickeland; he was taken being Comdr in Cheife of Bibligom fort as I have mentioned in Fo. 179. This man was much Courted by the King to

except of an honorable post in his service (but he refused it to the Last), & gave him many estimable guifts, as a fine Sword, Halbard, Cabanet &c., things they valew, all which he brought away & had by him at Cocheene whare he was Capt. of the Soldiers living well & splendidly, whare he intertained mee noblely at his house in the Citty, & gave to me in Remembrance of him a large Curious wrought knife that King Raja Singa had given him, which I brought home with me to England & is now by me in memory of my old fellow prisoner.

I inquired of him Concerning the state & Condition of the English remaining thare, but he could give me no account being keept all the time neere the Kings Pallace under a guard, & at my request he promised to use his intrest with the govenor to send a letter from me to the English that remained yet one Zelone Detained by the King, the Copie of which here followeth, Folio 63/66.

His letter to the Captives on Zelone.

To all my fellow prisoners & Lo: Country-men one Zelone Mr. John Merginson, Mr. William Vassall, & Mr. Tho. March, &c.,

Loving Bretheren

I am Sencible you heard of my safe arriviall with Stephen Rutland to the Duch whose kind reception boath in victualls & Clothing of us was far beyound what we found from our owne Nation. We had passage in theire ships to Batavia & came in an English Ship from Bantam to London. Afterwards came Wm. Day & Tho. Kirby, & Ralph Knight; Charles Beard Dyed by the way at St. Helena; Day & Knight are both living one shore at London being Superanuated & past goeing to Sea. The English Company put me in Comander of a small ship of 200 tunes presently, & Stephen went with mee the first voiage, but he followed his old Course of Drinkeing that we parted when came home, & since he is dead at Bangall. I was 4 voiages Commander to India in the ship Called the Tonqueen, & then I left her God haveing blessed me with Suc-

Escaped Prisoners.

cesse & being a time of Warr with france for 9 yeares. 4 yeares I stayed one shore till the wars was ended, & came out Commander of this ship Called the Mary 500 tuns with above 100 men, in May last 1698, bound for Suratt. Mr. Merginson's Wife was Maried to a Capt. of a man of warr but dead before I came to England. Mr. Marches Wife was longe living after my first ariviall but now is dead; his son hath bin Commander of an East india Ship of 600 tuns but foundered by leakes coming home, & since he died Chiefe Mate, but his sister is yet alive as is Mr. Merginsons sister. Mr. Vassell's Brother I saw at my first arriviall, but since hee & his father are dead. I know little of the Relations of the rest. In anno 1692 I saw a letter from Zelone at fort St. George mentioning that you are but 11 living. I have often mentioned your Case to the English East India Company but without effectt, therefore I advise you to rely onely upon God who worketh all things after the Councell of his owne will, & Consider the difficulty of aged persons to gitt a living as the 2 now in England doe find it. I doubte you will take this not well, but I assure you if you ware within my reach you should not have cause to say I have forgott my fellow Captives. The Circumstances of which Captivity during my time I have published in print: & Remember that tho Israills Captivity in Egypt & Babilon was longe yet God visetted them at last: I find a man in his Native Country amounge his Relations is not free from trouble, many of which I was free from whilst one Zelone, in so much that I still Continew a single man. I have heere with sent my picture to the Girll I brought up, Lucea, and you know I loved the Child & since have no cause to hate her. We have had Strainge Change of goverments in England since you left it, as King Charles the 2d, James the 2d who is now living in france & flead from his throne, & now happie under King William the 3d;

Sad news for the Captives.

Folio 64/67.

Change of Governments in England.

Prince of Orange, and at present all Chrisendom is at peace. Capt. Blickeland who was taken in my time in Bibligom fort now heere hath promised mee to indeavior to Convey this to you, which I wish may come to any of your hands, praying God to Comfort & Suport you all, Committ you to his protection & Rest.

I am & shall be your most
affectionate & true friend R. K.

Cocheen Rode
one board Ship Mary
the 12th Decemr 1698.

This letter I sent open to avoide suspition & Directed thus, This is desired to be sent to the English prisoners in Candy one Zelone by & from theire fellow Captive, Robt. Knox.

In Anno 1706 arivied the ship Mary from East India the same ship that I was Commander of the former voiage, who had Wintered at Zelone; the present Capt., Christopher Loyall, shewed me a letter he had received from Colomba whilest he lay at Point De Gall which advised that in Anno 1704 2 Englishmen had escaped from Candy & were come theather. One his name was William Hubbeard who was one of my fathers seamen, he sayed he had bin thare 44 yeares, which is true, haveing bin taken in Anno 1660 with me. The other who came with him was borne one Candy in my time thare, & aboute 30 yeares of age: his name Petter Wilson, son to one of the same Name & one of my fathers men who died thare before I escaped thence. William Hubberd reported that all the old race of Europe borne Englishmen were dead, onely John Berry living at his departure thence who was one of my fathers sea men: the Dutch Cloathed & provided victuals for the above mentioned men, but the letter added nothing more one that affaire, which might be the cause I never had any answer to my letter Mentioned one the other side, nor now can never expect any. Folio 65/68. *William Hubberd's Escape.*

This voiage in the ship Mary to East India, which seemed so much to my satisfaction before I went to Sea, prooved otherwise, as often & most times I have found that thare is more Joy & Content in the hopes & expec- Folio 66/69.

tation of things then in the actuall haveing & posessing of them, so this voiage prooved to me, & sure I am to all others Concerned, for although by Gods good providence we went well out & Came as well home, yet could not make our first mony we sent out in the ship; for in things of this nature those who are intrusted as mannagers, haveing an opertunity, use it to their particular advantages & not to the publick; so many instances heereof I have seen boath in the outsett of the ship & also at her returne, for which reason I did advise myselfe for hereafter never to be Concerned in a Joynt Stocke for trade with any that are so much as one Inch higher then myselfe, I meane to rule or govern without a mutuall Concent & advising with the rest & nothing to be carried one in priviate, for whare it is so thare is selfe Intrest at the bottome as in this voiage I have found all alonge.

The voyage in the Mary ruined.

But that which Chiefely ruened our voiage was we had an extraordinary proud superacargoe who, to maintaine his grandure & honour, spent al on higher rate then a Companies factory; that as he did exceede them in pride, so He would in magnificence boath in State & Diett, & all out of one Single Ships Stocke which Diminished much of our mony. This Gentlemans name was Tho. Lucas, he formerly had bin a factor in India for the old Eng: East India Company & for some Action he had Committed thare was by them turned out of their service. He came home as is suposed with some estate, but being unfortunate in the late warrs with france by insuring &c., brought himselfe to such Circumstances that he was faint to follow his old trade, & since his old masters the old Company would not intertain him longer, to enter himselfe to serve a Supra Cargoe in an interloper, the Mary.

By the Proud Superacargoe.

Notwithstanding he delayed in England & at Cales & what he could to have the more time to Injoy his pleasure in State & grandure out of our Stocke, that we arived in India 13th. Nob^{r} that we might safely, if he had so pleased, procured our lading to Come home the next yeare, it being safe for Ships to stay at Surratt tell May, but neverthelesse

His meanes to prolong time.

we must be sent with a fraight to Persia (which would not neere Defray our great Charges) to prolonge time while he rode up in the Country in State, thare to buy goods whare appearing so great raised the price of goods 10 p. Cent: had we bought our goods at first at Surratt & made speede home, as his orders ware to doe, in all probabillity Comming before the New Duties of 15 p. Cent &c., tooke place, had made a profitable voiage which now prooved a Loosing one, & he being my Superior & I to follow his orders, which in many things ware to the owners damage of whome I was one of the greatest, put me at such times to dispute the point with him, as first to sign bill Lading at Cadis fraight free for silver & Cochenell, it began a difference that for him to oblige his friends I must give away my part of fraight, & after to loose time to stay to speake with vessalls in the Sea hindred the expedition of our voiage, so that by large promises to the Mates to make them all Commanders of Ships he brought them all over to be for him & against mee, for a reward whareof they had punch at pleasure; but the saylours ware wholy of my Side, & the more because I was the onely Check to Kirb the Mates severe Domineereing over them, which otherwise would have bin intolerable, being uphilde by so imperious a Superacargoe that expected I should stand bare before him which I thought scorne to doe being a bigger owner of the Ship & Cargoe then himselfe & put in by a generall Consent of all the Adventurers, Commander as he was Supracargoe. Folio 67/70. *His promises to the Mates.*

He used all meanes to breake of the sailours affections to me, as to forbid the Steward to give any sort of provision or Liquor out by my order, so that if the saylours had a Cause of Complaint as when homeward bound 2 messe peeces of beefe with the bone wayed but 1¾ pound & I bad the Steward make up the weight with other beefe, Mr. Lucas forbad it in wrighting, which the men seeing was Contrary to my will rather then make theire addresses to him suffered, as they did by brandy most part of a butt being dranke in the voiage by him & his faviourets the Mates &c. *Beefe & Brandy.*

When we came neere England he ordered the Steward to give the saylours drams which they refused & would not drinke any haveing not had some before, but these & many such like practises more had no efect, that the Saylours & I ware intimely friend all the voiage else truly it would not have bin safe for me to Continewe alone home in the Ship lest might have bin destroyed by the way. Also he had severall Idle passengers that he carried out & brought who eate at the table which was some addition of Chares on our voiage, but this great & haughty Supera Cargoe Mr. Lucas, brought not one with him an equippage suiteable to his proud heart (his Circumstances not permitting it), he brought onely 5 Silver Spoones & 2 small Silver Servers whare as utensels for a table he ought to have had of his owne, neither had he more then 2 iron hilt Swords nor anything more either for eating or drinking but what was lay in at the owners Charge, in all which respects I was well furnished at my owne Cost, so that while he eate with a horne handle knife & iron forke mine was silver, which begatt invey but indeede I had noe neede of his faviour & so valeued it accordingly, notwithstanding he did all he could against me but my behaviour was such that he could not hirt mee.

His unsuteable equippage begets envie.

Folio 69/71.

Mr. Shepheards wife, speakeing of our loosing voiage, sayed she pittied Mr. Lucas far more then me he haveing Wife & Children which I had not. I told her he deserved it lest haveing bin the onely actor that ruened the voiage, but thanked God I had lest neede of pitty.

The Author returnes well in health.

But in Conclusion I coming home well in health have great Cause to returne thankes to Almighty God that still Contineweth to show me tokens for good that my Enimies (which are not a few) are ashamed to see that I have yett whare with to live plentifully without goeing any more to Sea, but doe Confese it was my unhappinesse to leave the old East India Companyes Service (since I would goe to Sea) in expectation of better masters which I found to be ten times worse.

In fine this voiage in Ship Mary, the subscription

amounting to fifty nine thousand pound, by our wise & honest manigers was overthrown, that we could not make our first mony after a 29 months voiage althought we had no damage in any respect either outward or home. Some part of our good Management very visabley appered to the World, for 3 Months after we ware unladen the Ship Mary was sett up for sale by the Candle; but what fraud was heerein I pass by but he that bought her either could not or would not pay the Mony, which was but £1815 not halfe her worth, so she lay in a dry docke at £5 a Spring Charge Months tell she was spoyled, to the admiration of all men that passed up or downe the river of thames.

The end of the ship Mary.

In Conclusion nothing in the Whole affaire was managed for the generall good but for particular intrests, and I was bound by orders to obey & see our Stocke, in which I had a good share devoured boath at home & abrouad, but I have learned to make some advantage by it to manage my Mony myselfe & not to trust it in high hands as it is a Crime to speak aboute it; & now God haveing blessed me with a Competencie & I come to the evening of my age, intend to sett downe & injoy it in my Native Country of England & thare to end my dayes if God permitt Being now in the 60 yeare of Age, Whare of aboute 20 years was my Childhood being under the tuishon of my father, tell was taken Captive one Zelone & thare spent neere 20 years more of my Life whare, although God provided plentifully for me boath in Sperituall & temporall things, yet when he Delivered me thence I had nothing more then a peece of Cloath to Cover my Naked body with me, which mooved the Dutch to extend theire bounty in Charity towards me; & since my escape I have bin toyleing too & frow at Sea aboute the world for a Subsistance (which when gotten I find is very uncertaine to keepe) 20 yeares more; & how great a cause have I, with David, to Blesse the Lord with the Soule that he redeemed & Delivered from so many adversities whilest many thousands round aboute me have bin Destroyed by Death, & teach

Folio 70/72.

The uncertainety of riches.

me o Lord so to number my Dayes that During the short time I have to remaine here I may be an instrument to thy glory, Amen. Sept. 18th, 1701.

Every 20 yeares hath produced notable Changes in the Circumstances of my life, which when I looke backe upon Causes me to admire Gods goodnesse in extending his providence Continually over me & Blessing mee thus with plenty to live at home in my Native Country now in my old Age.

MEMOIORS

Ann Colman Dead. June the 14th, 1701. This day Ann Colman, my owne Mothers Sister, Died being aboute 86 yeares old. Her husband left her a poore widdow that Cosen James Bonnell & I ware faint to Maintaine her severall yeares. I buried her whare she had desired of me by her husband in Algate Churchyard. The whole Charges came to £3. 4/-.

Toby Bonnell Dead. December the 22 Anno 1701. Toby Bonnell, my Mothers owne Brother, Died; he was Aged 83 yeares. He was in low Circumstances that I & Cosen James Bonnell ware faint to Maintaine him many yeares after my Sisters Death, who gave him his diett severall yeares tell she died. He had formerly made his old friend Mr. Mountage to be executor (who accordingly seased one all he had) & buried him handsomely in St. Hellens Churchyard in London, 23th Debr. 1701. He was the last of my Mothers family. She died at Wimbleton in the County of Surry Anno 1656, & was buried in the Chancell of that Church whare (if it may be) I desire to be buried by her.

Folio 71/73. *Dr. Robert Hooke's End.* The 2th March, 170$\frac{2}{3}$. This Night aboute 11 or 12 of the Clocke my Esteemed friend Dr. Robert Hooke Professor of Gomitry & Naturall Philosophy in Gresham Colledge Died thare, onely present a Girle that wayted one him who by his order (just before he died) came to my Lodging & Called mee. I went with her to the Colledge whare, with Mr. Hunt the Repository Keeper, we

layed out his body in his Cloaths, Goune & Shooes as he Died, & sealed up all the Doores of his appartment with my Seale & so left them.

He died without a Will, but his Executors or Heires at Law buried him the 6th March in St. Hellens Church, & made a Noble finerall giving Rings & gloves & Wine to all his friends thare, which ware a great Number for he left a very Considerable Estate all in Mony besides some Lands, yet notwithstanding he lived Miserably as if he had not sufficient to afford him foode & Rayment.

Land in Wimbleton Manner.

The 12th April, 1703. My father had bought a Rude of land of Heugh Stedman laying in Biggery Meede in the Manner of Wimbleton, 24th Aprill Anno 1654, which had remained in the quiet possession of the Knoxs aboute 46 yeares, & the Lord of the Manner had his quit rent duely paid in Court; tell one Thexton reported that the family of the Knoxs was quite Extinct; I, being then at Sea, coming home & hearing of it that the Duke of Leege, then Lord of that Manner, had seased my bitt of land, I went to the last yeares Court which was hild at Putny to put in a Claime for my land, but for want of a Coppie of the Court Rowles was denied it by Mr. Varnon the Lord of the Manners Steward. I had a receipt for the purchase mony (vizt. £11) of Stedman, & also a Receite of Claxton the Steward of the Lord Lambert then Lord of Wimbleton Manner, but he sayed that was not sufficient; then I desired to see the Court Rowles from which Coppies are taken, but Could not (since I have heard thare is none, they being burnt) so all ceased tell last March past, I being informed by severall that notwithstanding I had not a Coppie yet my land could not be forfited to the Lord of the Manner, but the valew was so small, vizt., 3s Rent p. Annum that I thought it not worth the wasting of time to looke after it.

Forfeited to to the Lord of Manner.

Folio 72/74.

The Author demands its returne.

But upon second thoughts I considered that to be a tennent of such a manner might be of use to some after mee, if not to myselfe in Case of a purchase, heereupon I went to the Duke of Leedge the present Lord of the

manner; his Steward Mr. Varnon had preposessed him with the Dammage that might accrew to himselfe in case I was admitted as a tennent of that manner by losse of his accostomed fine in Case I should become a purchaser of land, in so much that his Lordship told me the writings I had shewed him (vizt. 2 Receipts one from Stedaman who sold the land to my father & was for the mony received of him for the land, & the other Receipt of Claxton, the Lord Lamberts (then lord of the Manner) Stewart, for the fine sett in Court vizt., 50^{s} paid downe & Seven pound ten shill. more to pay at such time as more land should be purchased in said Manner (the whole fine sett in Court being ten pound,) ware not sufficient to proove my title & that neither himselfe nor mee he beleeved, did valew a Rude of land; but my meaning was to have the priviledge of a tennant to make a larger purchase hereafter free of fine which he would not shew himselfe Such a foole & Idiott as to Concent to; however he would doe no injustice, but bad me if could to proove my title, at which I desired of his Grace to see the Court Rowles of the yeare 1654 which he ordered Mr. Varnon his Steward, (then present) to shew mee; upone which I went this day with my 2 Nephews Ed: Lascelles & Jo: Ward to Putny whare the Manner Court was held, whare was present Sr. Edward Northe Atturny Generall: before whome & the Jury I declared & shewed in Writings my Case.

But is refused.

Pleads in the Manner Court.

Thare ware no Court Rowles to be found onely a small abscract in a little paper booke which shewed thare was a Court hild the very day my Receipt mentioned, but Knoxs name was not tharein, but it was sufficiently prooved in Court that for all the time past the quit rent which was two pence p. Annum had bin alwayes paid in the name of & for Knoxs Land, which Mr. Varnnon himselfe owned, & that Knoxs name Stood in the Rentall.

Folio 73/75.

The next question was wheather I was the reall & next heire to that Knox who bought this land now in dispute in Anno 1654; besides the evidence of my 2 Nephews

with me, it was soone Cleared by severall old men of Wimbleton that ware my Cotemperaies to the Juries &c., full satisfaction. I told them if further proofe ware required I could bring a man (now in England) who lived with me all the time one Zelone, but they sayd it was needlesse, at which the whole Jury gave theire varditt & presented mee as haveing Right next after my father, so I Received the Rent of John Ffenton the tennant, 5^{s}, for the Duke had raised it, & gave him my Receipt in full forbidding him to pay to any else, but I gave him the Crown againe to drinke my health withall. *And wins backe the Land.*

Note my Nephew Ward made a tender of the quit rent to Mr. Varnnon the Lord of the Manners Steward in the presence of the whole Court which he refused to take. The Writings I have given to my Nephew Lascelles intending to resigne over to him the whole right of me Robt. Knox.

Note Sr. Edward Northy then Steward of the Court for the Duke of Leege the present Lord of the Manner of Wimbleton hath since given mee a Coppie which Confirmeth my title to the above land.

November 27, 1703. Att aboute one this morning began a very voiolent Storme of wind aboute W.S.W & SW. It so frighted many people that they durst not lay in theire beds but came downe, & many Chumnies ware blown downe which by the fall Broake through the roofes & killed some people; it blew the tiles of from many houses which after they Covered with Boards, & nere 20 saile of the Queenes Ships ware lost, 4 one the Goodwind Sands besides many Marchant Ships & thousands of men. In the latter end of December the Arch Ducke Charles of Austra came over heere to goe to be made King of Spaine, & all the time he tarried heere I saw not any Sun Shine, but one Day it was the Darkest that ever I saw in my life; he sayled hence in a second Rate vizt., the Katterine with Sr. George Rooke, 5th Jan with a faire Easterly wind & was gott some 30 leagues to the Westward of Silly whare the wind turned Contrary *A violent storme Ann.* 1703.

into a voiolent Storme that scattered & shattered the fleete & forced them all backe some to one port & some to another. The Kinge of Spaine Arived 17th Jan. 170¾ with part of his fleete into Turbay, thus at this time our great undertakeing to land the King of Spaine at Lisbond in order to March into Spaine was stoped.

Folio 74/76.

But Queene Ann ordered the fleete, &c., to be refitted with speede for a second attempt.

The wind Continewed Contrary (that is Westerly) tell the 13 Feb 170¾ & then came Easterly that he sayled from Porchmouth, as our gazett sayeth, with aboute 400 Sayle of all sorts, Marchant Ships included, Sr. George Rooke, Admirall; with him went 14 Engl. & 9 Dutch men of war.

This fleete with severall other ships as transports with land Soldiers & Store Ships with provisions Baggage, &c., safely arived at Lisbone 24th Instant Feb 170¾, whare the King of Portugall himselfe in person came one board the ship Royall Katturne to Welcome the Arch-Duke Charles of Austra (to his port) as King of Spaine.

Another violent Storme Anno 1705.

August 1705 one Satterday 11th at aboute one in the Morning began a voiolent Storme betweene S & SW, the extremity lasted but tell daylight in which aboute 30 saile of ships ware lost at Porchmouth who attended thare for Conveyes to saile, & at Plimouth was Just arived a large fleete from Barbados &c., of which 8 weare lost & many other Cut theire Masts; Likewise at Newcastle many Ships ware lost; methinks this lookes like some Speciall providence more then a hap or chance to fall at this Season of the yeare, for the leaves of the trees one the weather side were blasted as if Scorched with fire, that they would Crumble in your hand.

This same yeare Dreadfull Stormes hapned upon a Jameca fleete with 3 men of War for Conveies, most of whome with the 3 men of war were faint to put into Newyorke to repaire theire Dameges & after when they were coming home againe another Storme fell one them that they were scatred from the Conveies.

The English fleet takes Barcelonia.

Our Grand fleet under Command of Sr. Cloudsly Shovell & Earle of Peterburg haveing taken one board Charles the 3 King of Spaine from Lisbone, sayled for Barcelonia which was soone taken, & most parte of the province of Catalonia revolted to him, but after some of the great Ships were come home to Porthmouth coming from thence for Chatham another great Storme hapned after they were past the Downes, that the Britania & Royall Soveraigne had like to have bin lost but suffered much damage loosing Masts etc. Folio 75/77.

Another fleet for Lisbon.

In Anno 1706 another Grand fleet under the Command of Sr. Cloudsley Shovell with the Earle of Rivers for Generall of the land forces, with whome were a great Number in transport ships as also victulers who lay so longe wind bound in Tarbay (14 weeks wind Westerly) that the summer was so far spent that 6 of the first & Second Rate Ships were ordered to come backe for Porchmouth in the Month of , but mett with a violent storme by the Way that the Triumph was forced to come through (at the Needles) & the Ryall Soveraine & Britania, with loosing of masts & damage, with much difficulty gott into Porchmouth ; afterwards the fleet with Sr. Cloudsley Shovell in the ship association proceeded one theire voiage for Lisbon, but were encountred with Stormes & Contrary winds that scattered & seperated the fleet that after a most tedious passage they came seperated into Lisbone, where they lay a longe time to refreesh & repare in order to Saile for Spaine.

Thankesgiving for the victory at Ramelies.

December the 31th Anno 1706 Tewsday. this day the Queene in great State Rode in a Ryall Coach attended by boath houses of Parliament, the house of Lords boath Spirituall & Temporall being in theire Parliament Robes, to the Cathederall of St. Paules, it being a general thankesgiving day through England, where Dr. Burnett, Bishop of Salsbury preached ; all Ceremonies were performed as firing guns ; Ringing Bells : & bonefires for the great late victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough &c., at Ramelies in flanders.

In Aprill the 14, 1707 thare was a very great Battle fought in Spaine by the Duke of Barwicke with French & Spanish forces against the Earle of Gallaway a frenchman & Generall of the English & Duch & the Marques Das Minas the Generall of the Portuguese forces, the latter fought for Charles the 3 of Austra who were intirely beaten with a very great Slaughter. This Battell was fought in the plain of Almanza & 297 principall officers were Carried away of the Engl: & kept in seperate townes, prisoners in france.

The Battell of Almanza.

Folio 76/78. Anno 1707 the Duke of Savoy & prince Eugen with a great land Army Marched from Savoy by land to take City & port of Tholon, & the English & Dutch fleetes under the Command of Sr. Cloudsly Shovell (who sailed hence in Anno 1706) lay against it by Sea, so that they lay against it boath by land & sea to batter & Bumbard the place, but the Martiall Thesse with his army lay by it to defend it & had taken 2 of the out forts & done much more Dammage by batteryes & Boomes, but the ffrench had so many forces Marching to the Releife thareof that one the 21 of August the Duke of Savoy & Prince Eugen raised theire Siedge & Marched back that night, & with much difficulty gott backe againe but could not take the towne. Thare were then in the harbour 46 Capitall Ships, besides small ships.

Siege of Tholon.

Sir Cloudsly Shovell Drownded.

Sr. Cloudsly Shovell, with part of the afforesaid fleete, in the ship Association returned for England last from Gibrialter & one the 22 October Anno 1707 aboute 8 at night he fell in one the Rocks of Silley where himselfe & whole ships Company ware drownded & not one man escaped ; besides, the Eagle a third rate & the Rumney a forth rate & 2 fire Ships were lost also, & many others of the said fleete were in great dainger of being lost also, & thus ended the great intended expedition of that fleete which was sent to take Tolone.

A greate disaster to the fleete.

Anno 1707 a great fleete with transports with horses for the King of Portugall & store ships went out from England in October under Convoy of 5 ships of warr, vizt.,

3 third rates the Royall oake, the Comberland, the Devonshire, & the Ruby & the Chester 4th rates who one the 10 October fell in with 14 french men of warr one the Soundings. The Royall oake escaped & brought the newse that the Devonshire was blown up, the Cumberland, Ruby & Chester were taken, & after we heard that aboute 30 saile of the other ships taken.

Anno 1708 in the month of July Sr. George Bing in ship Ryall Ann Admirall of the Blew & Lord Durzley Vice Admirall of the same sailed with a fleet of men of Warr & Transport, Caring (as was said) aboute 7000 land forces boath horse & foot, to make a decent one the french Cost; went first to Bollone Bay & so plyed one the shore to Lahoge but found the Coast so well guarded boath with horse & foot so that but once they Attempted to land with 1200 men, but imediately they reimbarked theire men againe & so spent away time tell the later end of August, & returned haveing spent theire provisions boath for men & horses & brought many sicke men with them; what numbers died &c., occurrances was not talked one. But in the meane time a french man of war of 60 guns fell in with an English fleete of Westindia marchant Ships, with onely one small Ship of war, out of which fleet he tooke 5 Ships & carried them into france. Folio 77/79.

A Decent attempted on the French Coast.

At the same time Monsere Du Casse came from the West Indies with a fleete of french men of War & severall Spanish Marchant Ships, who in theire passage whome fell in with our Jameca fleete & tooke 6 of them & came safe to Spaine with his whole fleete in Augt. 1708.

1708 November 22th this day we had newes brought in an open boate from ostend, that the Duke of Malborough & prince Eugen &c., past the Sceld & raised the Seidge of Brussells, which was neere taken by the Duke of Bavaria, & taken prisoners of the french 17 Batalions & 70 peeces of Cannon besides what were killed, at which the flage at the Tower was hoisted, & the guns thare fired, & bone fiers. Some dayes after by the Holland Males

Note.

The Seidge of Brussels raised.

had news of onely the Seidge of Brussells raised, & tho had passed the Sceld, yet tooke no prisoners nor Cannon but killed 800 men of the french & they retreated to the maine Armey & of our side onely aboute 30 or 40 men killed & wonded; thus uncertaine is our forraine news.

Anno. 1708 one the 26 Deb. it begane to freese which Continued tell the latter end of January, that people walked over the Thames one greate Cakes of Ise that stoped at the Bridge in the Ebb tide, & drave up againe with the flude; it was not fastned to the sides of the river, however no boates could passe for a great while, whith much snow, & the streets of London were full, which made it difficult for Carts & Coaches, & exceeding Cold, the like hath not bin since the yeare 1683. This was generall in all parts of europe. In the beginning of February it began to freese againe, when the streets & Thames were but Just Cleared of the Ice & Snow, as hard as the former frost that London streets were filled with Ice as before, the wind generally N.E.; it Continewed tell aboute the 18 Feb. $170\frac{8}{9}$ & then Thawed, but in this frost the Thames was so full of great flakes of Ice, as made it difficult for boates to passe. .

An Exceeding Cold.

And the 27 Feb. it freesed againe very hard that the water pipes in most houses in London were frosen & the streets fulle of Ice, but this lasted not longe, with exceeding Cold.

Folio 78/80.

June 27th: 1709 this day in the forenoone we had an exceeding hard Gust of wind at SW that blew downe above 20 trees of old & young in Moorefields: it soone ceased, but the most part of the month was darke & rainey.

Victories of the Allies in Flanders.

Anno 1710 this yeare the Allies tooke 4 townes, after longe siedges, from the french in flanders, & Charles King of Spaine, wone a (glorious) battell over King Aniou & his army at Saragoso in Spaine, for which here in England was exceeding great Joy, & a solemn day of thankesgiving ordered to be keept, which was performed accordingly; but after in the month of December, King Charles with

his Army haveing bin at Madrid, (which Aniou had left for feare of his comming & had now gott a reinforcement from france) Charles for feare thare of returned with 1000 horse to gitt to Barselonia, & left his Army under Count Starenburg, Lieutennant Generall Stanhop Carpenter, &c to follow, which Aniou pursued; the reare of the army gott into a fenced towne, which was soone taken by Anious party, & they all submitted to be prisoners at War amounge which was 4 or 5 principall Generall offecers; & Starenburge comeing to theire Releife was routed, & fled with what men he could, so that in this batell King Aniou tooke 9000 prisoners beside the slaine & wounded; this losse put the people here into great uneasenesse of mind, & made them quite forgitt the many great victories God had given them since the Begining of this War in 1702, as if they would Monopolise Gods victories onely to themselves of which they had had so greate a share, even 5 this last yeare & enviously repined that God should give theire enimies any successe.

Overthrows in Spaine.

This is the second great over through the Allies have received in Spaine by assisting Charles Duke of Austra to make him King of Spaine, the first was in Anno 1707 at Almanza & this last was at the towne of Brihuega which was stormed by Aniou, & the fight with Count Starein-burg was at Villaviciosa, & the names of the 4 townes taken this yeare were Doway, Bethard, St. Menanant, & Aire.

The Dauphen of France & the Emperor of Garmany die of smallpox.

In March 31 New Stile 1711 6 Gallones from the West indies arived at Cadix very rich in plate &c., Conveyed by 6 french men of War, & soone after hapned what was lest expected viz., 14th April 1711 Dyed the Dauphen of france of the Small pox aged 50, & one the 17 ditto died the Emperor of Garmany of the Small pox also, in the 33 yeare of his Age, by which I observe that the greatest of Mortalls, who by some are estemed as Gods vice Gerents, & have the sole power over Nations, are afflicted & cut of by the most odious desease that falles one the meanest of theire subjects; wheare is now theire pretended power to Cure deseases with a touch of theire fingers.

Folio 79/81. Anno 1711 in the month of Sep[t]. Bouchain was taken & all made prisoners of Warr ; this towne was so vigorously defended by the french, that our news papers told we lost Sixteene thousand men by Kild, Wounded & disertion so that our Army proceeded no further, but went into Winter quarters & the Compigne was Finished.

A fleet to Conquer Canady. This same yeare was sent a fleet from England of 17 men of War, & 46 transports & store ships, under the Command of Sr. Hovenden Walker Admirall, & Generall Hill Commander of the land forces for Canady to Conquer & posesse that Country being in the hand of the french. They went first to New England, to raise forces thare who were to march overland to Joyne our fleete &c., at Quebeck. At new England they made up their fleet to 75 Saile with aboute 7000 land forces one board besides an army that was to march overland under the Command of Col. Nicholson. One the 21 Augt, this fleet was gott up the river St. Laurence that leadeth up to Quibeck 30 leagues, when thare arose a great storme of wind & thicke foggs that the fleet was greatly disetressed that ten of theire transports were drave one the rocks haveing one board 26 Companies of soldiers who were all lost (what became of Coll. Nickholson &c., as yet we know not) ; thus ended this great expedition & Walker with his ships returned to England, & arived here the 6 of October 1711.

The Ship Edgar blown up. One the 15 Instant the Ship Edgar of 70 gunes being new rebuilt, was by accedent blown up at Portmouth with 500 men & women one board & not one escaped onely one man that was in the boate at her sterne but so wounded that it is beleeved he cannot recover ; this was the same ship that S[r] Hovenden Walker & Generall Hill went in one the Cennada or Quebeck expedition, but they boath were one Shore when the ship blow up. One the 20 Novem[br] 1711 the ship Restauration was drave one shore one the Matora at Leghorne, she carried 70 gunes & 446 men who were all saved.

Coll. Nickholson before mentioned had advice from New Engl[d] of Walker being returned backe & he retreated

to New Engl[d] & got theather in safty. But after this a fire hapned at Bosturn in New England & burnt the principall houses in that towne, in all 111 houses.

Somewhat more I thinke fitt to Add & leave upon Recorde under my owne hand, how I lived & passed the time of my Captivity whilest one Zelone. First as to habitt & apparell; after the few Cloaths I had with me when taken were worn out (Mony I had very little to buy more) I was put to my shifts how to Cover my Carkas. My hat outlasted all the rest, then I tore of the flaps of my Shirts & learned to make Briches of them, which did very well for a while, & after they were wore out, for the upper Cloathing wore not out so fast, then I cut of the sleeves of my shirts which were some what large that 2 sleeves would make one scant pare of Briches, which with the body of my shirt without sleeves made me a whole suite, & in this habbitt, without stockings or shooes I walked up & downe with a hat one. Folio 80/82.

The Authors habitt & Apparell whilest one Zelone.

At length my haire grew so longe that it reached to the Wastband of my breeches & covered my backe, (which was not as yet seasoned to endure the Scorching Sun) that then I left of upper garments & turned them into Briches, & from the wast upward I was naked, & I used to goe to a small runing Brooke, in a priviate place, & thare wash my cloaths, which I laid to dry one the grasse whilest I washed my naked body in the brooke, which by that time would be dry, fitt to put one againe. For at last I had noe more then what I wore one my body, & amounge all my Carefull thoughts for Cloath (for the King allowed me none onely victualls) I came to a resolution vizt., to fitt large pockets in my breeches, & in harviste time, which is twice in the yeare, to walke through the rice fields, & stripe the eares of corne, & fill my pockets, & empty them at home, & so returne againe to the fields & fill them againe after the former manner tell I had gott a quantity to sell, which I doubt if known would not bin allowed me to doe; but aboute the time I was come to my last shift, Gods providence better provided for me, as p. Fo. 130, I

Naked from the wast upward.

fell into the way to Knit Caps &c., & so desisted from my former designe of plundering the Corne fields, which supplyed all my wants fare better, & then I gott a Cloute & wore the Country habbett, which served me for a covering at night, & is far more Convenient, heere where wee
Folio 81/83. often are faint to wade through deepe waters & mud naked, that we cannot well gitt one breeches our feet being all muddy, which is no inconveniency when we weare a Clout aboute our bodies.

It may be thought very hard to goe bare foot, which indeede is not so, onely a little at the first, for the soles of the feete soone grow hard, as the hands doe of men that
Conveniency to goe bare foot. labour, that instead of difficulty I found a great Conveniency to be bare foot, for here is no possibillity to traviell in shooes for weet & durty wayes, neither are we ever troubled with cornes, & also sooner dressed & onely thornes doe perce or hurt our feete which seldome lay in the path wayes, & when doe perce the thicke skin, unlesse they breake in the flesh, which is not often, it is almost as soone well againe as pulled out ; & it is most certaine that most part of the inhabitance of the earth (onely Cold Countries excepted) doe goe bare foot more out of Choice then want as I have found by my owne experience, after I had escaped & were with the Dutch, who gave me boath Cloaths & shooes boath which at first were to me very troublesome & uneasey like as a Coller to a dog, or yoake to a hog, tell by time they are habituated to weare them.

So I did some dayes goe with shooes & some dayes without tell the fashion & use had brought me to it, so that to me it plainely appeares that Almighty God hath enabled man to goe in a naturall dresse, as the rest of his
Fashiones troublesome. Creatures ; for we see it is more the fashione of Countries, then Could or health of body that puts people to the troublesome way of apparrelling & dressing theire Carkasses, for I was never better in health & ease of body then when I went in the Indian dresse, bare foot, with a Clout wrapt aboute my body. In this above mentioned Indian Dresse I continued all the time of my Captivity tell

my escape to the Dutch at Columba (where they at theire owne Charge Cloathed me) onely with an addition of a Beard aboute a span longe, as Customary in that Country.

Haveing finished what I intend aboute my habbitt & dresse I wore the next is Concerning my dyett as in fo.122 somewhat is mentioned, & I have not much more to add, for it was sutable to all my other Circumstances poore & meane. Here they eate not for Luxury, but necessity to suport & repaire decaying Nature. The principall part of my foode, & of all the people, was rice boyled in water, to rellish which they boyle herbs :—pumkins, rootes & other things that grew here plenty seasoned with pepper, salt, butter or Cocornutt ground small, which they call Mall-oping which manner of diett to me at first coming eate very savery which afterwards when I dressed my selfe could please my pallatt better. Then I had a living stocke of Goates, hogs, & hens (other poultry they have not) so that thankes be to God for holsome food I never had want, onely flesh some times was scarce with me ; but when at the worst I certainely know no Gentlemen in the Country fared better, for if they at any time have either a hog, hens, or eggs they used to sell them to me rather than to eate them themselves, & would either send or come to tell me they had such things to sell. Folio 82/84. *The Authors dyett one Zelone.*

I used to fetch my wood & water one my backe & commonly used to have a good stocke of the former by me against rainy weather, (tho in the latter part of my time I keept an old man to ease me) & beat my rice out of the huske, kindled my fire, & after dressing my victualls I washed all my potts & pans, in which I grew very expert, for thare is a great arte to wash the rice from the stones, which generally our rice is full of, which doth very much anoy the teeth unlesse clean washed out. When I dwelt in my owne purchased estate at Eledatt in the County of Endy Nane as p. fo.144, being in the midst of my Country men, & God had increased my substance, my usuall custome was at the Generall feastivalls, as Christmas, Easter, etc., to invite all the English men & *How he lived.*

theire wives & Children to my house where I feasted them for 2 or 3 dayes togeather with goates, hogs, & hens, & the reason I invited theire wives was to dresse the victualls, when I thanke God we had every meale Rost, boyled & baked; the latter I did in an earthen pan, made for my purpose, with fire one the top & bottome, & flower I made myselfe of rice beaten in a Morter, which made a very good pie, & we sett the oven or pan in the Middle & so eate out of it.

His drinke. Our drinke was onely Racke, which I stilled my selfe, & I thinke excells any in other parts of India,—as doth all Folio 83/85. the Racke stilled in that Country being disetilled from a browne sort of sugar, called by the Chingulayes Hockoray, made from the liquor of a tree peculier to the Iland, fo. 15 tho in the Country of Tonqueene, I have seene of the same trees, but they understand not to draw the liquor from them, but never saw none noe whare else.

This Hockoray being as good to sweeten as sugar, & limes very plenty it may be wondered at why we did not make the so much Celebrated drinke we use heere, called *Punch not used.* Punch. I can onely say it was not our ignorance, for we knew it before we were taken heere, but it was not the drinke in fashion, but onely naked Racke, that none cared for Punch & indeede I thinke I never saw any made all the time of my being thare, but after the escape of severall of my fellow Captives thare they returned & fell in to drinkeing of punch with liking even as much as theire fellow Drunken sailours doe.

Thus by this I have written Concerning Punch with that which I shall write next one it will playnely appeare that the fashion & Coustome of the place more leades people then theire natural inclinenation, for as we say Costome is a second nature.

Racke made of Toddy. Note the Racke made of Toddy that is a liquor that comes out of the Cocornut tree is made in the lowlands whare the Cocor nut trees are in aboundance, but in the highlands Cocor nut trees are not in such plenty, that they draw not the Toddy but eate all the nuts, & in the low-

lands is but few trees that afford the Hockoray, but we esteeme the Toddy Racke the best.

This is the leafe Beetle mentioned in fo. 99, 100 & may also be comprehended under this head, for all sorts boath young & old of boath sexts are Continually Chawing of it, although the tast is onely bitter & bad, nay, when they cannot gitt the Beetle leafe, which in some places is scarce, theire saying is, Ricka-inda Berry they cannot get; still they will alwayes be Chewing a wild sort of leafe they Call Tollacoll, with the nutt & lyme, & also old men or women that have lost theire teeth, & cannot Chew it, alwayes carry a toole somewhat like a pare of Cisers, with which they pinch & bruse the leafe & nutt & then keepe it in theire mouths sucking tell it is drye & Huskey, which no sooner spitt out, but they put in more, The Chaing of Beetle is in freequent use all over India, in so much that most Europians people of boath sexts use it after haveing lived some time thare, & as for my selfe, I used it as frequently as Tobackio, & since my escape from Zelone when I came to India I used, (but not so much as formerly) to eate it with delight, which as tobackio, is onely attained to by Costome & the fashion. This is all I intend Concerning food or diett, the next is the manner of our lodging one Zelone, *The leafe Beetle.*

My house in Eledatt had 2 Close roomes Joyning one to the other, one a ground floore & thatched first with Reed & over that Rice straw: the eves stretched out about 4 foot without the Wall which was as an entery or galery to goe drye in time of raine from one Roome to another of an equiall height with the floore of the house which I keept as smooth & Cleane, which served also to sett one & lodge strangers, the Country being hott, & besides these 2 roomes I had another house in the Changulay Language Called a Mandua or as a Hall to intertaine Stranges in that came to visitt, for I brought them not into my lodging roome. Folio 84/86. *The Author's house in Eledatt.* *He builds him a Hall.*

It stood right against the other house some 4 yards distance; it was halfe way walled up & the other or

upper part was open for light & aire, but thare ware shetters made of Tallapatt leaves which opened like shop windows which when let fall made it a Close roome. In the upper end thareof was a broad bench made of lathes the whole breadth of the house, which served to set one or lay & sleepe one.

How they lodge in Zelone.

The comon way of lodging in this Country is to lay Matts one the ground & sleepe thare one, but at my feastivalls times I used to put all my Countrymens Wives & Children into one of the Close roomes & the men tooke theire lodging one Mats whare it liked them, for we give no other beding then Matts, for sheets & Coverletts theire owne Clouts they ware must suply, & Jacobs pillow a stone or billitt with a Cap one it makes a very good lodging, & thus I thanke God he enabled me to sleep many yeares on the hard ground with onely a matt under me as well as ever I have done eather before or since my Captivity in sheets one a feather bed; & when I traviled either a pedling or one other occation I used to looke for a house that had a Mandua or hall, which many houses have, & willingly give strainges intertainement which is pots to dresse victuals in & a mat to lay one the ground to sleep on, which did as well refresh my weary body after hard traviling with a load one my backe as if I had laine one the softest bed with Curtaines round about me.

The Author buys him a Bedstead.

But after I came to my last settlement in Eledatt & God had blessed me with abillity I bought me a Bedstead to sleepe one which was onely a frame Cased with Canes, as a Caine Chare one 4 legs, but large & stronge with noe Curtaines & one it I lay a matt; then I had made me a pillow of a sort of wild Cotton which is so fine & short that it cannot be twisted into thread but the wind blowes it away when ripe as the Down of thistles, & is indeed almost

Folio 85/87.

equiall to feathers; & a small quilt I had with me when taken I covered with a Course Cloath made in that Country so that I had as good lodging as any Gentleman in the Country & my house as well fournished which was

with Matts, Earthen pots & some Brasse potts & basons to eate rice out of & 2 Cane worke stooles & a small table (which latter the Chengulayes never use,) also such Iron tooles as I used & Commonly 2 or 3 spare Clouts, but the best part of all my furniture was a plentifull stocke of Rice in the huske which the most part even of the better sort of people want, that they are faint to borrow Rice to eate tell theire corn is ripe which was my trade as Joseph in Egypt did, as mentioned in Fo 149.

Friends not invited to feasts.

'Tis not the Custome heere to invite friends to feastes, when strangers or Kings officers who alwayes goeing one publicke businesse have theire victualls free & ready dressed at the Gommoyes or Kings farmers houses & noe other houses. They eate one plantaine leaves which are very large & will hold liquor & as often as they Change Carrees, that is other sorts of food, they take & flinge away the first or fowle used leafe & lay a freesh or cleane leafe with freesh rice to eate the other sort in, & so continew doeing for every sort of food they eate, which great men of quallity Commonly have seven, & althought the Gommoy or farmer have sundry Brasse basons in his house it is an affront to lay them for straingers to eate in who alwayes must have greene plantaine leaves, but to neere kindred they give theire basons to eate in, but before anyone setts downe to eate (which commonly is one a matt one the ground) they alwayes give a water pott to wash theire right hand (& mouth being foule with Bettle) with which they take up theire rice or what else they eate & put it into theire mouths (Note, they never use spoones). But people of the best quallity sett one a low stoole & theire rice is laid after the former manner one a higher stoole & so eate, & when done (napkins they use none) wash boath theire hand & mouth rubing theire teeth with theire finger in which they are very Cleanly & then next they Chew Bettle againe.

How the men of quallity eate.

I could add many more such like triffling things Concerning Appariell Diett & lodging, but I thinke this I have wrote on these 3 heads are scarce worth the paper

I have scribled them one. I perceive by I have intermixed one thing with another which maketh them not the lesse true (in which I am Chiefely Carefull) but sheweth my disabillity to write histories not following the Method.

Folio 86/88. In the foregoing Folios I have finished 3 parts of my Circumstances during the time of my Captivity one Zelone,

Poore lodging better than sumptious appareill. as what food raiment & lodging Gods providence provided for me which althought poore & meane yet answered the end God intended them for, keept my body (generally) in good health & strength & I thinke better then sumptious Apparreill: Voluptious faire; & delicate & soft lodging would have done of which some small experience I have had boath before & since my escape out of Captivity.

How the Author imployed himselfe. The next thing to mention is how I imployed myself & generally spent away the time, Conversation being the least part of my imployment, for I generally lived alone that those I had to Converse with were onely Indians that for severall yeares at my first coming I could neither speake too nor understand them. Being in this solitary Condition it gave mee the fairer opertunity for a heavenly Converse with my 2 bookes, vizt. the old practice of Piety & Mr. Rodgers booke as p. fo. 123: & soone after God by an unheard of providence as p. fo. 127 gave mee the Holy Bible, which I did & doe thinke was lodged thare for mee against my Coming.

No worldly cares. Worldly affaires I had none nor Worldly estate neither, God haveing taken me from it, not it from mee, which was the same thing. Rayment tho but little yet enought for a hott Country God had left me & for food Gods providence sent it to me twice a day by the hand & at the Charge of the Pagan Indians who neither knew nor could love me, even the food that they wanted themselves for theire wives & Children; could this be any lesse then an overruleing providence as Commanded the Ravens to feede the Prophett Elijah or as gave the Israiellites faviour with the Egyptians to lend them theire jewells, whome not longe before they hated so mortally as to destroy theire

Male infants, for I knew not neither whence my food came nor how longe they would continew to bring it. I confesse I doe beg pardon for these comparisons but since my intention is to record Gods Mercyfull dealings to myselfe in the whole course of my life this ought not to be omitted.

Being thus provided for by his bountifull hand I had nothing to doe but to Read & Meditate & pray in which I spent most of my time, some time in my house & then in the fields which were very pleasant being richly adorned alwayes with the Wonderous workes of the Great Creatour even as England is in the midst of Summer; & whereas it may be sayed I must be fed or starved was it not mervelous Mercy that we all should eate the labour of the people & not as Slaves in all Countries be putt to labour as we dayly expected to be, neither can I forbeare to mention one particular promise in the 30 Chap^{t}. of Duteronomy to the 5 verse which I often rouled over in my Meditations & used in my prayers to my great Comfort tho made to the Israilitts, vizt. if when in Captivity they sought the Lord God with all theire heart & with all theire soule the Lord God would turne theire Captivity & have Compasion upon them & if any of them were driven out unto the utmost parts of heaven from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee & from thence will he fetch thee; which I did not take to be a peculiar promise onely to that nation but generall to all that sought him in times to come, & especially now are Confirmed since I have lived to see it fulfilled upon myselfe, whose providence made all Circumstances concur to that purpose when I made my escape for tho thare be many devices in the heart of man yet the Councell of the Lord that shall stand Pro. 19th & 21 verse.

Reading Meditation & Prayer.

Folio 87/89.

After I had lived some yeares in this Country (this was Bonder Cosswatt whare my father died) & began to understand & speake a little of the language & my Agew to leave me as in fo. 126 & living in a little durty house Joyning to a Fermers which I grew weary of & a Curious

pleasant garden of Cocornuts belonging to the King laying neere in the same towne, as in fo. 131, whare I had a great desire to dwell, I mooved it to the officers of the towne with whome at last I prevailed & they assisted me a little to build a house, but soone left of.

The Authors house like to have bin destroyed by a wild Elephant.

After it was began I spared no paines to finish it & did at last but before it was finished it had like to have bin destroyed by a wild Elephant who fell foule of a hog house I had built neere it of the Kettule wood which they love to eate (for this garden was one the outside a little remote from the towne) It was in the night & so soone as I heard of it by the noise the Elephat made in breakeing it, my boy & I each with a lighted torch in our hands run theather & scared him away before he had done much damage (for generally they run from fire else the townes & Cornefields would be destroyed) to prevent which afterwards we lodged in it & keept a good fire & was no more assalted.

How he built his new house.

I was at no Charge in building onely labour, which I thought my time well spent in haveing nothing else to doe. I made 2 roomes of it, one my boy lay in & that was my ketchen & the other I lodged in myselfe. The wales was onely Sticks set up right & crosse stickes tied to them & so daubed over one boath sides with tempered Clay which at first as it dried would cracke but after 2 or 3 times daubing over againe it did not cracke & was very Smooth. Note, they have no trowells in the Country but doe all this plastering worke with

Folio 88/90.

theire hands & to smooth the wales they wett theire hand in water & so smooth it, but to make my lodging roome more hansome (knowing no better) I daubed it with fine lime that it was very white; it was covered with thatch of rice straw as all the houses in the Country are.

How he made Benches.

Then I made 3 guales, as they call them, or benches, for myselfe & friends when they come to sett one or sleepe one, one at each end & the other against the Wall opposite to the doore. Boards here are very scarce for tho they want not Timber yet they have no saws, but when

they make a board Doore, which is onely for great mens houses, they make but 2 be the tree never so big, for they cut the tree through with axes into 2 sides or peeces & then with an ax & adds they chop it thine into a board ; which was to much worke for me to doe therefore my benches was made of small straight sticks tyed with rattans split small to Crosse sticks & layed one 6 forks stucke into the ground on which with a matt or 2 laid thare one I could sleepe very well, for I was not able to buy me a bedstead wove with canes as I did afterwards ; & my doore was made of cocornut leaves wove like a matt & strengthned with small sticks tied crosse so that in my whole house I had not one naile or bitt of iron, for every thing instead of nailing was tied with split rattans of which heere wee have great plenty in the woods.

No iron worke in the houses.

All the houses, even Pallaces, are built in the same manner without any iron worke, & the eves or rafters of my house were longe without the wall so that under it I had a banke of durt aboute 1½ foot higher then the earth & very smooth to sett one without doores in the coole aire ; & thus as I have described my whole house was finished, which standing in a pleasant place alone by myselfe much delighted me that after I made more of the before mentioned guales or benches under the trees to sett one & thus I passed a good deale of my time to make my life the more easey, not omitting the use of my 3 bookes & care for eternity & being now settled as well as could be in my circumstances I lived with much more Content then before & continewed in this place aboute some 2 yeares after & then was sent for by the King to the City of Nellemby, as is mentioned in fo. 137, which was the finall end of all the labours I had taken & the Delight I tooke tharein.

Notwithstanding I was exceedingly well pleased in hopes to obtaine my former liberty & see my native Country againe, for tho I wanted nothing (superflueties excepted) yet my mind was not fully at ease. At this time our whole nation were togeather at the City of Nellemby &

Great Rejoycing among the Captives.

greate rejoyceing we made, first to see one another & secondly beleeving as we were told should be sent away to our owne Country but how things hapned & we were disapointed I have already related. I have onely to add that in our Merry makeings togeather we had spent all we had gotten befor & were as poore as ever, that glad we weare to be sepperated & sent into the Country againe as we were a few months after.

Folio 89/91.

Thare was no perticular appointment to which place each or any of us should be sent, but my lott or chance hapned in such a place as I most Desired, vizt. neerest the Sea, as being most probable I could soonest make an escape from : I was placed in a towne Called Accrareagull in the

The County of Handapondowne.

County of Handapondowne betweene which & the Hollanders Dominions was onely one County Called Belgall Courly.

This Country was far more healthfull then Bonder Cosse Watt where I lived before & built my last house, but nothing neere so pleasant, which was a Curious dry & smooth Country & this all uneven land onely hills & dales wett & durty, being full of Springs & rivers, which tho much more profitable to husbandry (in which I had no share) yet worse to me to walke in which was all my buisnesse & besides much infested with land horse leaches as is mentioned in fo. 25, which tho holdsome to the body by drawing away Blood, yet very troublesome to the traviler, of which where I dwelt before thare are never any.

Here they put me into one of theire owne durty & darke houses & brought me my victualls raw & in good order which I dressed myselfe (haveing turned away my

Hottera Courly.

Boy at the Citty). In this County Called Hottera Courly were 3 English men more quartered aboute some 4 or 5 miles distance from me & we could goe & visett one the other at pleasure, which made my life more easey, but heere I wanted Cotten yarne to Follow my trade of knitting Caps, for as I have mentioned before I had spent one all I had while at the Citty, & this County haveing great

plenty of Beetlenuts with which they buy Cloathing they neither plant nor spin Cotten as they are faint to doe in other parts where they have no bettlenut trees, vizt., as at Cose Watt ; & haveing now bin in this Country of Ceylone aboute 5 yeares could speake somewhat of the language, I desired of my Neighbours leave to goe to my former quarters to buy Cotten yarne where it was plenty (Note, these people had as much Charge to keepe my body in safe Custody as to feede it) & also that part layeth higher up in the Country then heere where I dwelt, so that with a small hessetation they granted it, telling me they tooke me for a man of honour as if upon my Paroll & this was the first begining of my Pedling trade. And my good friend Mr. John Loveland went alonge with me, so I had the pleasure to see my former habitation & the variety of my labours in building a house, which now was become a store house to keep the Kings Cocornuts in & not admitted to dwell in it againe.

The Author begins his Pedling.

After my returne the people never more questioned my goeing againe as I did severall times to trade for Cotten thread, which taught me the art of pedling. The people of Bonder Cosse watt my old neighbours I beleeve were glader to see mee now then when I was quartered upone them & fed at theire Charge, & kindly intertained mee for the people in the lowlands are naturally of a kind & friendly disposition. Folio 90/92.

After I had continewed some time in these my new quarters & well acquainted with the people, not knowing how longe my stay amounge them might be, for now my quarters were very large & so no greate charge to the people to feede me (as it was before in one towne) & I began to thrive in the World, I fell to build me another house one a fine situation on the bank of a fine fresh water river, (forgitting how I was served with my former house in Bonder Cosse Watt) & some of my Neighbours assisted me very friendly that I made this house larger & better then the former, & intrenched it with a ditch & hedge & made 2 doores boath fore & backe Doore, & planted my

The Author builds him another house.

garden with fruite trees, sparing no labour, & began to take delight in this habitation, but not such as altered my inclination to make an escape when god gave mee an opertunity, who to shew mee the vanity in seeckeing Content in things one earth, when I had but just finished this house & lodged in it but some few nights the Dutch came with an army & tooke posesescion of the next County called Belgall Courly as p. fo. 141, that so frighted the people where I was that they all remooved into the woods, driving theire Cattle before them & buriing theire corne in the ground, & myselfe & the other 3 English men that were neere were all carried up into Mountaines leaving most that I had gotten (being in trade) behind me & thus I lost all my labours a second time, yet God continewed my dayly bread for the Manna ceased not, I meane the Kings allowance.

But has to leave it.

The place where I was carried to was Lagendeny, as mentioned in fo. 142, being a small towne one the top of a hill invironed with mountaines one which were but few trees, but all overgrown with a longe sort of grasse they call Manacoll, in some places up to the Knees, in others up to the Middle, that heere was noe walking but in the paths the Cattle made & the ground Stony & uneven. In the dry seasons, which is about January, they sett one fire & burne this longe grasse, which will run over whole mountaines tell some small runing brooke of water interpose, of which here are many, & then they will fire it againe one the other side: this they doe for food for theire cattell, who care not to eate the old ripe grasse but love to feede one the young new Sprung grasse, & also that they may the better passe to & frow, which they cannot well doe in the longe grasse.

Manacoll grasse.

Folio 91/93. Here I could take no manner of delight, onely think how to gitt out of it, & therefore contented myselfe with the house the people gave me, indeed I had a very pleasant prospect of the great river Called Manella Gonga, neere as broad as the Thames, just below me & of the Beautifull & pleasant Countryes of Endy Nune & Yattenune (in the

former I after dwelt) & townes situated one that river side, but this added to my vexation to see such a fine Country so neere & I must dwell on the top of a dismall mountaine often covered with Clouds.

However I had one advantage by it, not haveing any divertion for pleasure I sett myselfe the more dilligently to knitting Caps, by which with Gods Blessing I retreeved my former losses & was enabled to buy a small freehold Estate, as mentioned in fo. 144, so that now I thought I had nailed some of my mony fast to the earth to prevent it from flying away againe as it had done before twice from mee, but Almight God out of great mercy to me frustrated these vaine & foolish thoughts I had to grow rich, as in the 49 Psalme, in not suffering me to naile myselfe with my mony to this Earth, as I have mentioned in the 9, 10 & 11 Chapt. of the 4 part of this booke, for mans goeings are of the Lord ; how can a man then understand his owne way, Pro. the 20 & 24 verse, but how buisely I imployed myselfe to seeke rest & Content in this my new purchase I have already related in fo. 144 & fo. 84 in manscript.

The Author buys him an Estate.

Concerning the house I built thare that I have but little to add, but this house standing one my owne ground I built it with better stufe or wood & bigger than either of my former 2 houses: here my doores to each of the Close houses were of planke with Staples & padlocks to hange thare one, as indeede here was more neede, being many Theives of outlandish people that are either slaves to great men or inhabitances, whareas the naturall borne Chingulay so much abhors Theivere that I never knew any practice it.

Chingulays very honest people.

The ground one which my house stood was sloping that required much labour to levell it by bringing the earth from the higher part & raising the lower that I might have a levell to walke on which at length with much paines I did efect & made thorne gates (as great men have) boath before my house downe into my rice field & behind it allso to goe out that way, to boath which I had barrs that none could come in when they were shett.

The field I had lay joyning to my ground all in one

peece which was well watered & a curious runing Spring of water very neere for my house use. Had I tilled this field myselfe it would afford rice enought for my owne eating all the yeare, but I could more profitablely imploy my time in Knitting Caps & afterwards when I left Knitting by the trade I was fallen into by lending Corne, as in fo. 149, I had no need, therefore I lett the field to be tilled & deducting the seed corne sowed one halfe (deducting some small Costomary charges) was my owne for the use of the ground & thus I managed my field every yeare, but besides I had severall rice fields one Morgages for mony lent, for the intrest here of mony is dubble for one yeare, that instead of Intrest I had the profet of what the field produced, which I used to lett at halves as I did my owne field, which was to continew in my hand tell the lent mony was repaid, that by this meanes my esteate increased upon me every yeare Considerablely, all which I gladly left behind me when God of his infinite mercy delivered me by an escape, as is before mentioned in fo. 156, & came poorer out of this Country than I came into it, haveing had onely foode & rayment of all the Labours I had taken under the Sun (they being vanished like yester nights dreame) all which I might have had without building & planting & buying land which my inclination led me to doe, whereas none of my Countrymen the English were of that mind, but contented themselves with such houses as the people gave them & dilligently followed theire kniting Caps to gitt mony & then fell to drinking of Racke tell it was all spent & so round from kniting to drinking & from drinkeing to knite againe, & thus the most part of them spent theire time, haveing allowance of victualls given them by the Kings order.

Folio 92/94.

How the Author managed his field.

And increased his Estate.

Thare were aboute 3 or 4 that husbanded theire mony better to more nesesary uses: Thare was one man amounge us tho I know he had more mony then any one of us yet like Sollomons foole in the 6 of Exclesiastes he injoyed lesse not haveing power to eate thareof (& how a strainger came to eate it will follow). His first way of

A mizerly man.

gitting mony was by knitting caps & then keeping it when he had gott it, for he had rather pinch his belly then spend one penny of his mony either for victualls or Racke & in cloaths none could goe worse, for he had onely one old durty Clout & a pare of briches. He alwayes dwelt in the Citty of Candy, where his house & furniture was sutable to his diett & apparrell. He wrought early & late by lamp light that no time was lost but for Sleepe & to dresse his victualls, which he had raw.

And his Portuguese neighbour.

Right against him one the other side of the Street dwelt a Portuguse that had a Wife & family who often would crosse the way & come & sett & talke with this man, which had it hindred his knitting he would not allowed of: at length by frequent conversation they grew intimate & the Portuguse pitting he should loose so much time to boyl his rice, which often he would eate with onely a little salt & a lyme, offered to send his daughter to boyle his victualls thare in his house, saying the Girle had nothing at home to doe. Folio 93/95.

How he got helpe to spend his mony.

This was not presently excepted tell after being sent by her father the Girle in a neete cleane dresse came herselfe & used such importunity & Arguments (he being about Age 42) as convinced him to be for his intrest to save his time, & every day she used to come & dresse what he bad her, which done she stept home tell he had done eating (for her Company to dinner would be chargeable) & then she came againe to wash the potts & sweepe the house, & sometimes the Girle would bring a small dish from her fathers house when she saw his dinner very scant, & the Portuguise continewed this kind & Neighbourly assistance & sometimes inviting him over to dine at his house, that at last the Girle gott a Rich husband & probabely his family will yearely increase. This was done but a short time before I left the Country so that I know not what followed (Hony Moone) onely I know he had gott one to helpe to spend his mony which he grudged to spend one himselfe.

Thus I have shewn how some spent all & some keept

all & I myselfe after I was well settled & had gott some substance Run away & left all, yet I thinke Solomon that hath written in Eccleastes so much of the vanity of all earthly things saw not more of theire uncertenty then myselfe. First when I was taken one Zelone from all & all my expectation of advansing myselfe in the World in the prime of my yeares. Secondly when remooved from my settlement at Bonder cosse watt. Thirdly when remooved from Accraneagull. Fourthly when I run away from Eledatt & Fiftly since my escape when I had but Just began to build my fourtune againe, as in fo. 24 of Maniscript, the ship was run away with all I had gotten againe in the World.

The uncertainety of Riches.

From all these premisses I make this inference that God of his infinite mercy onely pruned of my superfluous branches which tended onely to Pride, Ambition & love of this world, for in all the Straights & difficulties that his providence brought me into he alwayes led me through & provided for me a plentifull suport of nesesaries, as in the 45 Chap. of Jeremiah to Baruch, '& seeketh thou great things for thyselfe seeke them not saith the Lord'; but my life hath he given me for a prey in all places whare his providence hath led mee, so that in the Course of my life I made 7 voiages to the East Indies, 2 with my Father, who was Commander of the ship.

The Authors voiages.

Folio 94/96.

The first voiage I went out & came home well & in the second was taken one Zelone after the ship had bin 2 yeares trading in India & since my escape from thence I made 5 voiages more all to the East Indes, being myselfe Commander, all which time his good providence preserved me that I was never neither cast away nor taken although I went out & came home in the height of King Williams Warse with france & sometimes alone without either Company or Convoy, therefore as in Deutro. the 8 & 5 verse, I ought to Consider in my heart that as a man Chasteneth his son, so the Lord my God hath Chastened me & not given me over unto death, and I thinke I may

say at Madagascar, fo. 14 Manscript, had he not restrained the King I had bin slaine by his hand.

He discourses on publicke Worship.

Since my comeing out of Captivity I have heard many discourses as if it were scarce possible to retaine any sence of Religion where thare is not a publicke Worship as in Churches & preaching, but I thanke God I have not found it so, for the place & the Company I take to be the lest part of Divine Worship, as our Saviour told the Woman of Samaria; for God is a Spiritt & they that Worship him must Worship him in Spiritt & in truth for the Father seeketh such to Worship him, which spirituall Worship may be as sincere in a wilderness as in a crowded Congregation, for I cannot thinke that neither the sanctity of the place nor numbers of the people present can make me an exceptable worshipper to God, but it must be my owne hearty & sincere Devotion which cannot be the lesse excepted to the omnipresent God because I am in a remote part of the earth & alone when offered to him.

Private devotions recorded in Scripture.

In the wholy Scriptures are recorded many holy mens single private devotions which we have no reason to doubte but were accepted of God as well as if they had bin in publicke Churches, vizt., as Abraham when he interceded for Sodom & Isaacke when he went out into the fields & Jacob had divided his family into 2 bands before he prayed, therefore is probable he was alone when he prayed: also Job, & our Saviour in the 6 of Matthew bids us goe into the Closet & shutt the doore when we pray & likewise not to appeare to men to fast, but to our father which is in secret, to which I can add my owne experience, boath by sea & land that to be seperated from publicke preaching & Church worship doth not seperate from Communion with God.

In these solitary states of life we are free from many temtations as Drinking; Sports for divertion; & play houses & commonly in publicke Conversations few come better out then they were when they entred into them.

This that I have here writen is not in the lest against publicke worshiping of God which I have & doe & hope

alwayes shall use, but to shew that a man may leade a Godly and pious life where it is not to be injoyed ; & thus I conclude the many signall providences that I have seene & gone throught in the Course of my life heathertoo, being now in the 65 yeare of my age, God haveing
Folio 95/97. Blessed me with a small Competency (which onely he knowes how longe it shall Continew) for my Comforttable suport in my old Age for I have often seene, as heere is mentioned the uncertainety of all earthly things, yet notwithstanding after I had left my trade & imployment at sea & was setled onely in a lodging Chamber I could not leave my former inclination & genuine to make my uncertaine habitation neate & pleasant, for with Concent of the Landlord I inclosed a corner of a Court with
The Author's Garden in London. a bricke wall to make me a small garden in the City of London & planted trees tharein, which gave me great content which I thinke no other but myselfe would ever have done.

These few leaves I wrote in Anno. 1706, in which I see I have not followed method, but sure I am I have truth, which was the Chiefe thing I regarded, which I doe Attest under my owne hand, Robt. Knox.

His booke of Ceylone all bought up. Anno. 1708. Since my booke of Ceylone hath found such acceptance of this present generation that all the bookes that were printed are bought up & many more would have bin bought if were to be had, & also that it hath bin translated into Dutch & french gives me cause to thinke that hereafter some may inquire or wish to know what became of the Author after his escape from Ceylone & how that hand of Divine Providence that was so signally extended over him thare did afterwards provide for & preserve him to his lives end ; for all I brought home to England was onely the Cloaths one my backe which the Duch out of Charity had bestowed upon me, which I thinke is as worth of remarke as the former whilest one Ceylone, as by the before writen papers doth appeare, for he hath raised me up & throwne me downe, brought mee into faviour & Cast mee into disgrace, made mee to be

pittied & after to be envied & also loved & hated, which treatment I have found in my passage through the world; but in all these various dispensations of his providence he hath (according to his gracious promise) never left nor forsaken me, but alwayes shewed me tokens for good that they that hated me did see it & were ashamed, which hath inclined mee to write this Narrative of my life for those (if there may be any such) that may thinke it worth the reading. R. KNOX.

Folio 96/98. *The Wonders of the Cocornut tree.*

When I looke backe (in my Solatory Meditations) upon the Wonderfull things that Gods hands hath wrought & mine eyes have seene, the Cocornute tree tooke up much of my thoughts, especially since in all bookes that have fell into my hands thare is not one half described of what that tree affordeth & must beleeve because the authors knew it no better, & without vaine glory to myselfe it is no wonder for a man that lived 20 years amoung those trees & planted severall of them, to have a more perfett knowledge then those who now & then happen to see them.

Cocornuts plentifull in the East Indies.

These trees grow plentifully in most parts of the East Indies & the usefullnesse well known to all the inhabitance that by Ropes, Racke or spirits & oyle they have a great traficke & suport. One Zelone where they have great plenty it is accounted a high Crime for any man to cut downe one of his owne trees thought one his owne ground, unlesse it be superanuated & past baring. I have often known the people leave theire Cocornut plantations upon soposition of the divell hanting them or sickenesse with the trees all standing tell the Wild Elephant come & throw them downe to eate. These trees afford so many nesesaries that I thinke were people to dwell where thare were no other sustenance they might live to dye of old age.

And now I shall describe the tree & the produce thareof, onely what my owne Ample experience hath taught me & shall be nothing but the very truth.

How the tree grows.

First the nut is the seede which they gather before it is over drye or ripe & fling it amounge the greene weeds, now & then throughing water (if dry weather) thareone; &

first the rootes grow through the thicke rime & strike into the ground & after the bud which produceth the tree comes out upwards, it is aboute 5 or 6 months before thare is any apperance of grouth. Note, as the nute grows outwardly the inward Cavety (which is full of sweete water) fills with a pulpy substance & as that substance increaseth & filleth the Cavity the meate that groweth round one inside of the shell rotts & Consumes as doth also the liquor to make roome for this pulpy Substance tell it hath filled the whole Shell, which rotts quite away & this becomes the roote of the tree. This pulp when it hath aboute halfe filled the shell is very good to eate, tasting sweetish, but afterward it groweth stringey & lesse savory.

Its Fruit. This tree bareth sooner or later, according as it liketh the ground it groweth in; sometimes it will bare Nuts in 4 or 5 yeares, but most Commonly in 10 or 12 yeares after it is planted that one may reach the nuts standing on the Folio 97/99. ground from the time it begines to Bare. It contineweth baring without intermision at all seasons alike tell it grows superanuited, which the Chingulayes or inhabitance of Zelone say is 100 yeares. When it is at its full growth it is 50 or 60 foot high & straight (so difficult to Clime up) but generally by the great length & weighte of the head it groweth bending.

How the Chingulays Climb the trees. These people are very exquisite in Climing these treese notwithstanding theire length & straitenesse: they make a strap by knoting boath ends of a rope togeather, in which they put in theire 2 feete (being alwayes barefoot) so wide as will just Clasp the tree & grasping the tree with theire armes they draw up theire feete, which being in this strap hold the tree fast without Sliping that they raise theire body to reach higher with theire armes & so gaine at each time about 2 foote higher up the tree & so Continew tell they come to the top & Come downe after the same manner, for if they had not the strap theire feete would be apt to slide.

Another way to Climb. This way they use onely when they goe up to gather

the Nuts, but when they draw the liquor from the bud which produceth the nuts, Called toddy they must asend twice every day, therefore they have an easer way by binding a small sticke (somewhat Crooket) that they may graspe with theire hand to the Cocornut tree & every binding serves as a step to sett theire feete on, & the small sticke so bound as a handle to hold by, which is the fitter being somewhat Crooket to put theire fingers betweene that & the tree then if it were directly straite & laide close to the tree for Laders they have none.

Ladders would not doe so well the tree being high & difficult to raise & remoove the ladders from tree to tree for they mount 5, 10 or 20 treese at some distance one from the other.

I shall forbare to write a description of the forme of this tree since that & many other Indian trees & plants are so excelently done in prints in India by the life by order of the famous Dutch Generall Matt-Sucar in a booke I have seene at Dr. Rob: Hooke called Ortus Mallibaricus, that I thinke it cannot be done more Lively.

Haveing shewn the Manerr of planting this tree & brought it to bare, next I shall shew the many excellent & usefull things it produces for the service of mankind which to many I thinke will seeme incredible, but I write nothing (by hearesay) but what I have known by my owne Ample experience.

'Tis an old & common saying, the Cocornut tree affordeth meat, Drinke & Cloath, true, but far short to my owne knowledge, besides I shall add Corne, toddy, Wine, Vinegar, oyle, Milke & honie, all eateables: but besides it affordeth othes nessesaries as Mats, Broomes, bottles, dishes & Ropes. The body is the lest usefull of all, being as a great Reede full of pith, but the top of this pith next the head of the tree I shall make an excelent use of hereafter in its place.

What the tree affordeth.

Folio 98/100.

I shall write of each particular produce of this tree in the order I have here set them downe. The tree naturally bareth the nuts, which grow in bunches, some more & some fewer. I have seene 40 nuts in a bunch all hange one one stake from the head of the tree & some bunches more. These large bunches they cut of & lower downe

The Nuts.

with a rope (else in the fall they will breake of from the bunch, but the Nut hath no hurt) & hange on the entrantrance of theire Temples at times of great feastivalls to theire Gods, but generally each bunch Containe 10 or 12 Nuts. It is as the tree thrives so that thare is alwayes at all seasons of the yeare buds, Blossomes, younge nuts, one cise under the other, & full ripe nuts all at one time upon the tree.

Meate & drinke. First I begine with meate & drinke, for that is the naturall produce of the tree without any human helpe. The nut is so well known heere that I neede not further describe the Manner how these 2 things doe grow in the nut; but when we use these nuts for meate & drinke we gather them when they are young (not so ripe as those brought to England) then the meate one the inside of the shell is as soft as the white of a pocht or soft boyled egge, that we scrape it out with our finger, which tasts very pleasant & the end of the nut being Cut of it is a cup to drink the liquor out of, which is so pleasing to all pallates that I never knew any that disliked it, & I beleeve so holsome even to sick bodies beyound what I will pretend to discribe. Some of these nuts Containe aboute a quart of this liquor, some lesse, but as the nut grows older the meate grows thicker, & by Concequence the water lesse & boath lesse savory to the pallate.

Tis Customary for travilours or others to stay theire stomake betweene meales to eate & drinke these nuts, which very well answers theire expectation in boath degrees.

Cloath from the Cocornut. Secondly Cloath, which may be made out of the rind or outward huske that grows over the outside of the nut: the Staple is aboute one span longe, which may be spune into thread & wove into Cloath which would cover the naked body & fence it against Cold, but would be very ruggett & scrach the body. This might be done whare thare is no other Cloathing tho I Confesse I never see any Cloath made thareof, but ropes of all cises (as I shall come to here after) I have seene great quantites.

Thirdly Corne, by this I meane the pith in the upper end of tree (for the rest in the body is all stringes) which they beat in morters into flower, & bake Cakes of in potshread & truly is very like Cakes so made of wheat flower, onely it hath a little sweetish tast; but this sort of foode is to precious for common eating, which they never doe, but when an Elephant hath trown downe a tree & they scare him away suddenly else he will eate it himselfe, which is his purpose in throwing downe the tree. *Corne.* Folio 99/101.

Fourthly, 4 very usefull things I must put togeather because they all proceede from & are made from one Naturall Liquor which this tree yeldeth in great plenty, Namely, Toddy, generally so Called by the English, but in the Changulay Language Called Raw, of which they make Wine, Vinegar & hony or Sugar. To take them in theire order, the Toddy they draw from the Bud which bareth the nuts; this bud is as thick & longe as a mans Arme, which they for severall dayes togeather Morning & evening knock & bruise with a small Club to keepe it from bursting (else it will produce the Cocornut) & every day they Cut of a thine slice from the tip end which in time will drop & then they hange one the end an earthen pott with a narrow mouth to receive the same, which is sweete & pleasant to drinke, & I thinke as holsome & after it hath bin keept some howers is as stronge as Beere or Ale, that men are frequently Drunke tharewith. They take this downe from the tree every Morning & evening & when they meane to make Wine (or Racke so called in India) they keepe this Toddy Liquor 4 or 5 dayes & it will ferment like Brewers Wort, which when they perceive to be Ripe, which they see by the frawgh falling, they still & draw the Spiritt or racke (which in the Portuguise Citty of Goa they make such quantities as they sell to most parts of India & I think is the chiefe Manifactory that place affoardeth. *How they make Toddy.*

Then to make vinegar is onely by keepeing the Toddy in the Sun some dayes & it becomes good vinegar, with which vinegar all theire pickells as Mangoos, Bambows, *And vinegar.*

&c., are made & is little inferiour to our Wine vinegar in Europe.

Hony. I have explained 3 excelent produces of this tree, vizt. Toddy, Wine or Rack & vinegar; now next of hony or sweetning, tis onely to wash the pots that receive the Toddy from the tree that it doth not sower the liquor as the pots soone will doe for the Liquor naturally is sweet & presently boyle it to a surrup, or if boyle it longer it will come to a Consistancie as Sugar & is as sweete, good & I thinke as holsome.

Folio 100/102. At Zelone they doe not frequently boyle theire Toddy to make Sweetning, because they have such plenty out of the Kittule Tree as I have mentiond in this Book in fo. 15, but boyle it onely as they have occation for medicianall uses, for which they say it is excelent good, but imploy it better to drinke or Still Racke or vinegar.

How they make oyle from the Cocornut tree. The next produce of this tree is oyle, which they make in great quantities especially one the Mallabar Coast: then the Riper the nut is the better, as when the water within is all quite drivn away out of the Nut & the meate so dry that it is separated from the shell & will rattle as a Curnell in a nut, then they breake of the shell & lade small vessells with the meate or kirnell as a comodity from one port to another where they have Mills, worked with Cattle, to grind this meate to powder & then squeese the oyle out, which they use for lamps or other uses as we doe traine oyle.

And milke. But when they make milke of the Cocornut they take the nut just when it is Ripe, as they may see by the outward huske begining to Change the Couller from greene to a redish or dry Couller & splitt it in 2 parts, as it will easely doe by a Chop or 2 in the Midle, & with an iron grater fastned one a sticke roundish, filed with notches one it as a saw, they grate the meate that groweth one the inside of the shell all small & put it into water & so nip & squeese out the Juce, which lookes as white as milke & tasts much like the same, which often they put into theire Carres or stews & it gives it an exelent saviour.

This milk they boyle tell all the waterey liquor is evaporated & onely the oyle remaine, then thare will remaine in the bottom of the pan a pulpy Substance they call Talecaup, which is sweet & pleasant to eate, but very greesie. This way they make oyle of it to use to fry anything or to oyle theire haire, for then it is sweete & holsome, but will soone become ranke by keeping that they make but little at a time, onely for present use, but the other before mentioned way of making oyle is onely for common use & not eateble being very ranke.

I have carried these Cocornuts to sea & made milke of it after the before mentioned manner & mixed it with rice boyled in water & it eate even as well as Rice boyled in Milke, onely a little sweeter, but if should boyle rice in this Cocornut milke it would turne to oyle before the rice could be boyled it being fatter then Cows milke. Thus I have explained the eateables that the Cocornut tree produceth, besides it affordeth severall other nesesaries for the use of man, as I shall now explaine.

I shall begin with mats, which are made of the leaves of this tree. These leaves or the bough as the Chingulayes call them are aboute 7 or 8 foot longe, in forme somewhat like a feather, with sprigs one each side.

These sprigs are more then 2 fingers broad & aboute 2 foot long & to keepe them out straite in the Middle is a sticke like a Wire which reaches to the end & groweth all alonge tapering like an Angle or fishing rod. The leafe one each side of this sticke they stripe of, which is a large fingers breadth & tough like parchment which they weave into Mats, larger or smaller as they please; & also with the same they make basketts to put Corne, &c., into (& then the stickes so striped from the leafe & tied togeather in Bundles is a very good broome, with which we alwayes sweepe our houses). Folio 101/103. *How they make Mats.*

Also with these Cocornut leaves they make whole houses, boath sides & Covering, which fenceth them from all weet Winds & weather, in many of which I have dwelt my selfe before I fell to building me a house, which when *Houses made from Cocornut leaves.*

they use the leaves for houses they doe not stripe it as they doe for Matts, onely splitt the whole leafe or Bough into 2 parts, each part making one matt aboute one & halfe foote broad & 5 or 6 foot longe & tye these leaves one faying over the other to the frame of the house, which is made of wood, boath one the top & sides, but these leave houses will not last above one yeare & must be new Covered againe & also are very daingerous for if once one fire hardly possable to quinch it.

Broomes. The bough one which the Nuts grow one when they are gathered or fallen of is naturally a very good broome which they use to sweepe theire yards with, it having a short handle growing to it, & when they meane to make a bottle of the nutt they make but a little hole in one end & keepe it tell all the meate in the inside is rotted *Bottles.* out & then it is like a bottle without a necke, in which they keep Racke or oyle or any other liquor: some will *Cups.* hold a quart. The cups or dishes is onely to split the nut in the Middle as it will doe easear then any other way & then thare is 2 Cups made of one nutt.

Ropes. Now we come to Ropes, which are made from the produce of the Cocornut tree in greate quantites for trade & marchandise, as the Racke & oyle is. Most of the Indian ships are rigged with these ropes & theire Cables of the same, & it is Common for our Europe ships when by longe stay in India that theire Stores are expended to suply theire wants with this sort of Cordage, which wareth very well, but not so durable as hemp ropes, as I have known by my owne experience.

Folio 102/104. These ropes are made of the outward huske that groweth one the Cocornutt. Thare is a great deale of difference between ropes made of the huskes of the full ripe nuts & those that are made of the huskes of nuts gathered before they be full ripe: the latter are the best by farr & neere duble the price, but then they loose the benefit of the oyle & the nut onely fitt to eate raw or put into theire vittualls, as they alwayes doe, but this will not

devour a great quantity so that the nut is in a manner lost though thareby the ropes is the better.

How they take of the huske.

They have a very ready way to take of this huske with a sticke of aboute 2 or 3 foot longe, sharp at one end & the other stucke fast into the ground & so they Job or sticke the nut one the sharpe end of the sticke & then prise downe the nut & the huske rips open & so sticke it one againe tell it is all ript of.

I have seene many of our Europe men very much pusled to gitt the nutt out of the shell by cuting the huske with knives, which when they have seene done is as easey as to make Columbos egge stand one the end.

Then they take these huske & lay them in a weet place some time to rott, or rather to soften, & then with a Club they knocke or bruse these huskes as we doe hemp & so prepare & fitt it to spin into yarne to make ropes. To these ropes they use no tarr: they are far lighter then hempe ropes & will swime when new tell they are Water soked, but after not.

What the Cocornut tree affordeth in order.

I shall set them all in order for the plainer view :—

First Meate.
2ly Drinke of 2 sorts, vizt. the Liquor in the Nutt & Toddy naturall.
3ly Corne.
4ly Wine.
5ly oyle.
6 Vinegar.
7 Milke.
8 hony or sweetning.
these 8 things are all usefull for food.
9ly Cloath.
10 Matts.
11 Broomes.
12 Bottles.
13 Cups & dishes.
14 Cordage & Match to fire guns, etc.

These 6 latter are usefull in theire kind tho not eateble.

Althought this tree affordeth all these usefull things the

The Wood useless. body or Wood thareof is useless not so much as for fireing: sometimes they split it for railes for fences, &c., but generally it layeth & rots one the ground as of that vine.

I never heard any man sett any tree whatsoever in Competition with the Cocornut tree but onely Captaine Dampire, who affairmes the plantaine tree to go beyound it, therefore I being as well acquainted with the latter as with the former & have planted many of them, I shall Folio 103/105. give as full a description thareof as I have of the Cocornut tree, which far excelleth all the treese that I have ever known.

The Plantain tree. This Plantain tree is but an Anuall growth for it bareth but one bunch of fruit & then they Cut it downe else it will die. It is onely a large Rush so big as a mans thye & aboute 10 or 12 foot longe, Composed all of flackes one growing over the other as an onion & in the Middle is a soft pith as thicke as a mans wrist. These trees onely usefull to feede Eliphants who loves to eate them, which other Cattle doth not. The fruite when ripe is sweete & eateth much like a mealy pare, tho the Changulayes use them greene & boyle them to eate with theire rice, but acount them but a Coarse food. The leaves are large, aboute 4 or 5 foot longe & 2 foot broad, fit & used onely to lay rice one to eate (for liquor will not goe througt them) for one time & after fling them away for they will split or tare easer then paper one way, but not the other.

How they grow. When they plant them they Commonly sett them in a deepe hole in the ground, for the young plant groweth out from the old root one the upper side & comes out 4, 5 or 6 younge ones at a time which is the increase, for the fruit will not grow, so that in a few yeares they grow up above the surface of the earth, & then they decay & grow no more, so that in a few yeares thare is an end of the whole plantation.

When they make a new plantation, Commonly they plant these Plantaine trees (though it is no more propper to call them trees then it is to Call a Cabage a tree) & sett Cocornuts betweene them, for before the Cocornut tree is

grown up the plantaines are decaid & gone, whare as the Cocornut tree Contineweth flourishing aboute 100 yeares.

The plantain and Cocornut compared.

Now to what Capt. Dampire sayeth the plantine tree produceth, vizt. beside to eate the fruite ripe, they dry them in the sun & after beate it to powder & make Cakes thare of, which I grant may be done, & that of the rushey body they may pull it into threads, & spin it & make Cloath thareof, which I grant also, but it will be but like the Cloath made of the Cocornut rine, onely fitt where else they must goe naked. Thirdly they may spread the ripe fruit one bread as Butter which is but as if they should spreed a Codled Apple one bread onely that is sweeter then the apple. Farther I never heard him say & indeede I thinke is all the improovements can be made thare of. But indeede the Elephant may make the Comparison more equiall for indeede he eates with delight the whole plantine tree whare as he eates onely the tender part of the head & buds of the Cocornut tree, for the boddy tho all pithey he will not eate as I have often seene. I would not have added this onely to doe the Cocornut tree Justice, which affordeth 14 very usefull things as I have described, whare as this affoards but 3 besides food for Elephants.

Folio 104/106.

The Kittule and Jacke trees.

Tis my opinion that the Kittule tree & the Jacke tree comes nerer in Compatition with the Cocornut tree, but far short, yet excells the plantine tree.

It is my opinion that if thare were any trees in the world (that I know of) to Compare or stand in Compatition with the Cocornut tree it would be the Kittule & Jacke trees, of which I have wrote to breifely in fo. 14 & 15, for indeed they boath doe deserve a larger Explication, however, would not be neere a match for the Cocornut tree tho all the Art of Rhetoricke & Logicke weare used.

An impression against Atheism.

As I have bin writing this it hath made a deepe impression one my mind against Atheism (which I blesse God was alwayes abominable to me) that trees that grow naturally intermixed one with another out of the same earth & soyle from which they all have theire nourishment

should so differ in theire varieties of fruits: what can this proceed from but that greate Command in the 1 of Genesis 'the earth to bring forth grasse & the tree yielding fruite after his kind' & this we see fulfilled all the world over.

Memorandums 1711.

1707. Folio 106/107. *M. Du Guay Trouin's Designe.*

June 9th, M. Du Guay Troin sayld from Rochell one a secret designe with 7 Men of Warr from 60, 70 & 56 gunes & 6 friggotts from 30 to 40 guns & one bomb vessall & 2500 souldiers & arived at Ria Genuary one the Coast of Brassell the 12 Sept. about noone & imediately entred the harbour, notwithstanding all the Cannon thare fired upon them, & got into the harbour whare lay 4 of the King of Portugall ships of 60, 70 & 56 guns who all soon run one shore & set themselves one fire to prevent being taken by the french, besides aboute 40 marcht ships & one small outward bound English East India ship, some they burnt & some were ransomed.

The Portuguese had thare then an army of 13000 men who soone fled up into the Country that the towne was left to the mercy of the french who sent to the Portuguese govener to know if he would ransome it or else they would burn it to ashes; which he agreed to doe & paid a ransome to the french. Content they stayed thare tell 13th November following & carried away all the plunder & cannon & amunition & arived at Brest the 6 February following.

February 12th, The Douphenes, daughter to the Duke of Savoy died of the meazels, age 26 yeares.

And the 18th ditto. the Dauphin died, aged 30 yeares, of the same disease.

Folio 110/108. 1709.

Being now come to the evening of my Age & free from all manner of buisnesse & tired with fruitlesse Conversation, which seldome leads to edification or to any purpose onely wasts precious time when men have not buisnesse togeather, I began to spend my time in reading & my owne Solitary Contemplations for all worldly pleasures are

now to me very insipid & vaine as the wise King Solomon in the 12 Chap of Eccles: & 1 verse sayeth after all his pompious glory & worldly injoyments he found no pleasure in them.

Difference aboute Cerimonious Circumstances in Religion.

It fell into my thoughts the great heats & difference amoungst men of the same Religion in essentialls, aboute Cerimonious Circumstances used tharein, which are Chiefely maintained by such men as our Saviour noteth in the 15 Chap of Matthew & 8 verse: from the 29 Chap of Isaiah & the 13 ver: vizt. 'this people draw nigh unto me with theire mouth & honoreth me with theire lipes, but theire heart is far from me' (Note) 'But in vaine doe they Worship me, teaching for Doctrings the Commandements of men,' which I take to be the Priest habits & Cerimonies used in publicke worship onely because Commanded by man, but never (that I can find) prooved to be of Gods appointment in the holy Scriptures, but Culloured over with the name of Decency as much as to say to mend or make our Religion more perfett & pure then God himselfe hath appointed, is not this to be righteous over much as in Eccle: the 9 Chap & 16 ver., but this is further urged under the name of Religion as by Law established which to me seemes to be no Confirmation at all, for if the Lawes of Countries can make a Religion for theire owne people then why not King Jeroboam & after King Nebuchadnezzer, & what if we should (as it hath bin) againe have popery by Law estabilished, but as to myselfe my Conscience is fully satisfied that thare is no other acceptable maner of worshiping God, then what he hath prescribed in the holy Scriptures, which we are straightly Commanded to obey as the rule of life under a Curse neither to Add nor Diminish ough from it as witnesseth Duter: the 4 Chap and 2 verse: & Josuah the 1 Chap & 7 verse: Proverbs the 30 Chap & 6 ver: & Revelations the 22 Chap & 18, 19 verses.

I am further Confirmed in this faith (beyound opinion) by the 14 Chap: Romans, & perticularly the 14 & 23 verses; (verse 14: 'But to him that esteemeth any thing to

be uncleane to him it is uncleane,' & the 23 verse the latter part: For whatsoever is not of faith is Sin,') what human power can either bind or Cleane a mans Conscience against these Cleare & pregnant proofes in the holy Scriptures, which all Christians agree to be the onely word & Commandments of Almighty God I am not yet wise enough to know.

Folio 111/109.

Many volumes aboute Divinity yet our Saviour compriseth Religion in a few lines.

What a numerous number of volumes have we printed in every Age by the learned men thereof, aboute Divinity each asserting his owne opinion & so fall into Controversies one against each other to mainetaine the same, Whareas our Saviour himselfe Compriseth the whole of Religion in a few lines: Matt: the 22 Chap & the 38, 39, 40 verses, 'Jesus said unto him, thou shall love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy Soule, & with all thy mind: this is the first & great Commandement, and the Second is like unto it, Thou Shalt love thy Neighbour as thy selfe, one these two Commandements hange all the law & the Prophets,' also Luke the 10 Chap & 27 verse & James the 1 Chap & 27 verse, 'Pure Religion & undefiled before God & the Father (is this) to viset the widows & fatherlesse in theire afflictions, & to keepe himselfe unspoted from the world.'

The Prophet Micah.

And the Prophet Micah, Chap 6, & 6, 7, & 8 verses 'he hath shewed thee O man what is good, and what Doth the Lord require of thee, but to doe Justly & to love mercy & to walke humbly with thy God,' & St Paule makes the wordes of our Savioure the whole Sume of the Doctring which he taught as in the 13 Chap of the 1 to the Corinth: & perticularly the 3 ver, 'and though I bestow all my goods to feede the poore, and though I give my body to be burned, & have not (Charity)' which Mr. Baxter explaines to be a predominant love to God & to Saints & to men it would Signifie nothing, & in the 14 Chap & 5 ver to the Romans it is St Paules precept: 'one man esteemeth one day above a nother: Another esteemeth every day alike: Lett every man be fully perswaded in his owne mind' & in verse the 22 of the same Chap he

saith 'hath thou faith, have it to thyselfe : Happie is he that Condemneth not himselfe in that thing which he alloweth.'

Gods holy word to be our onely guide.

By which it seemes to mee, that neither Tradition of Churches nor Commands nor opinions of men which are mutable and various according to times & Circumstances have no power over conscience in matters of Religion, but Gods holy word is to be our onely guide, which is immutable to the worlds end, Romans the 15 Chap & 4 ver: 'for whatsoever things were written afforetime were written for our learning,' & also 2 Thimo: the 3 Chap: 16 ver, how perticularly doth the Scripture declare & shew as a narrative of the Prophets & Apostles whole lives, not onely theire Doctrings & miracles they wrought, but also the hardships & Contempt they endured, also theire poverty (for none were rich) & theire food & aparrell which was as meane as all the rest of theire Circumstances. Folio 112/110.

The great Prophet Elijah 'a hairy man & girt with a girdle of leather aboute his loynes & a mantle,' 2 Kings 1 Chap & 8 ver: And 1 Kings 17 Chap 6 ver, fed by the Ravens & dranke of the brooke & after sent to a poore starving widow to be fed, & in the 19 Chap: when he lay under the Juniper tree in the wildernesse, the Angell brought him onely bread & water meane fare for so holy a Servant of God that had so great a Journey to goe. And when he was taken up to heaven, we read of nothing he left his Successor in worldly goods, but his mantle, & tho Elishas Circumstances before his call to be a Prophett seemed to be good yet he left all & became a poore Servant to a poore Prophett, & 2 Kings, 5 Chap when riches were offered to him he refused them, & severely punished his Servant for taking it. The like we find recorded of the Prophett Jerimiah in the 45 Chap Baruch was reprooved by God for seekeing great things for himselfe, vizt 'Seeke them not for behold I will bring evell upon all flesh, saith the Lord, but thy life will I give unto the for a prey in all places wheather thou goeth,' the same promise God made to Ebedmelech (& giveth a reason)

The promise to these prophets only life not riches.

'Because thou hath put thy trust in mee saith the Lord.'

The promise to both these holy men was onely life, that theire whole dependance should be one Gods providence without Riches.

John Baptist. And John Baptista who sprange from the line of the Priesthood of Aarons order, & a prime minister of Jesus Christ & none greater ever borne of woming: Mat 11 & 11 had his dwelling in the wildernesse, 'his raiment of Camells haire & a leatheren girdle aboute his loynes, & his meate was locust & wild honey': Mat 3: 4 ver: & Peter & John in the 3 Acts had neither silver nor gold but that which was better—faith to Cure the Cripple: through out boath old & new testament I note: that the Choiseth of Gods servants as the Prophets & Apostles all the dayes they were one earth lived in poverty & want: Hebrews the 11 Chap 38 ver: 'of whome the world was not worthy': if any had worldly injoyments it was the Captive Slaves in the Babilonish Captivity who had also sharp & severe Chastisements to imbitter theire worldly Joyes: as St Paule saith in the 2 Timothy 3 Chap & 12 verse 'yea & all that will live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution as a proofe that they are not Bastards but Sonns,' Heb: the 12 Chap 8 verse.

Folio 113/111.

From whence I make this application to myselfe that Worldly prosperity (tho' most thirst after it) is no marke of Gods faviour; he bestowing it one goode & Bad, as in Psalme the 73 & 7 'theire eyes stand out with fatnesse, they have more then heart could wish' &c.

Noe dayes set apart in Scripture to be kept in memory of holy men. And tho (which none will deny) these were all holy Saints, yit I never found in Scripture a day set apart to be keept in memory for any one of them, onely we read in the 11 Chap Judges & 39 & 40 verse: That it was a Custome (not out of Religion) in Israell to lament the daughter of Jeptha 4 dayes in a yeare, Matt 23 Chap & 29 & 30 verses: 'Woe unto you Scribes & pharises hypocrits Because you build the Tombs of the prophets, & garnish the Sepulchers of the righteous' &c. which may

be suposed they did to keepe up theire memory as we doe theire dayes.

Our famous Reformers in those late times as Calvin, Luther, John Knox &c found so much of the very same treatment (as poverty, scandall & persecution) whilst they were in this world as the holy men did in the primitive times, as our Saviour had foretold they should, in the 10 Matt: in his instructions to his 12 disciples when he sent them out to preach: ver 22, 'And ye shall be hated of all men for my namesake,' seemes to me as an addition to the Confirmation of theire Doctring. *Calvin, Luther, John Knox.*

Whareas one the Contrary who was like Ahithophel for politicks, 2 Saml. 16 & 23 ver. as if a man had enquired at the oracle of God: or like Ahab: 1 Kings 22 Chap, 30 ver: in his Ivory house, or like Ahasuerus in Esther for largeness of Dominans & sumptious feastings, (it seemes Loyalty did not consiste in drinking of healths, for they had a Law none did Compel) or like Haman the darling favorite of so great a King, or like Nebuchadnezzar in his pallace: Daniel 4: 30 ver: 'is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the Kingdome by the might of my power & for the honour of my majesty,' or who could goe beyound the Rich man Luke 16 & 19 ver which was Clothed in purple & fared sumptiously (every day) or have more Applaude of people then Herod: Acts 12 & 22 ver Saying 'it is the voice of a god & not of a man' of whome nothing is writen that he said, yet as I thinke for his gracious accepting: And not Rejecting such applause the Angel smott him Imediately for gloring in his owne heart, And all those notwithstanding theire worldly prosperity, are noted for wicked men, tho I know not wheather Nebuchadnezzer was not a true penitent, as in Daniell 4 Chap & particularly the 34, 35, 36 & 37 ver 'Now I Nebuchadnezzer praise and Extol and Honour the King of heaven: all whose workes are truth & his wayes Judgment & those that walke in pride he is able to abase.' *Examples of voluptious living.*

I further take notice if Riches & Worldly prosperity is no peculiar marke that God sets upon his Chosen ones, Folio 114/112.

but often one the Contrary, then when he takes them away, tis but the fulfilling of his word, as in Pro. 23 & 5 'for Riches Certainely make themselves wings & flie away (& none can Stop them) as an Eagle towards heaven' the truth of which I have often found, then neither is it any marke of Gods Displeasure, But rather we ought to take it as a meanes he useth for our good to weane our minds from over loving this vaine world which all doe more in florishing Circumstances then in meane.

The Duty of charity frequently commanded us to performe.

Thare is no one Duty Commanded us by God to performe I thinke so frequently repeated boath in the old & new testament as Charity, to releeve the poore, And who those poore are that he meanes, we find in the 10 Chap Luke, the object was a strainger I sopose to the Samaritan who our Saviour bids us imitate (& not the Priest nor Levite) 'goe & doe thou likewise,' & in Scripture Phraise Commonly the Strainger is joyned to the Fatherlesse & Widow, Which I take to meane all that are in want. And to what duty hath God made greater promises, Pro. 19 & 17 'he that hath pitty upon the poore, lendeth unto the Lord, & that which he hath given he will repay him againe,' & 28 Chap. 27 'he that giveth unto the poore shall not lacke'; the Scriptures are fulle of these promises, Whareas I heare dayly that men strive to find excuses against releeveing the poore, vizt. some they say make beging theire trade (as if one day beging would serve for alwayes), others are Hypocrite, & doe not want; tho some may be such ought not others who are true objects be releeved, as the Lame, Blind, Sicke, & Aged, those they say the parish are bound to take care of; the most poore are in the poorest parishes that theire releefe can be but very small & what they can gitt by beging besides I doubt will but keepe life & soule togeather, especially in a could winter; others count it the greatest Charity to set poore people to worke (more then to releave them that cant) but this is not according to Luke 6 & 35 'doe good & lend hopeing for nothing againe,' I doe beleeve that most people Chiefely intend, when they

Excuses against releeveing the poore.

imploy the poore, to have theire worke done more then Charity to the poore, else Nebuchadnezzar may passe for an exceeding Charitable man, for doubtlesse he imployed multitudes in building his great Pallace of Babilone, which was onely from the pride of his heart, tho the poore perhaps had wages which did releave them, Could this be called Charity? The Charity in imploying the poore I take quite another way; where we see a man who through sickenesse & poverty &c., cannot plow his ground or reape his Corne or thatch his barne, or mend his hedges, he that shall send laborours & pay them at his owne Cost & Charge & doe all or the like worke for any poore indigent family (hopeing for no recompence againe), this I take to be the true Charitable way of imploying the poore, But the other is to have the poore mans labour for theire mony, which is indeede to serve themselves, And I thinke no more Charity then to feed the horse that they Ride one.

Nebuchadnezzar truely charitable?

Folio 115/113.

True charity.

Others thare are that leave great sumes to Hospitalls or Almes houses at theire death when they can keepe it no longer, (this is very good) especially if any can shew the Coats & Garments, as Dorca made whilst she was alive, Acts 9 & 39 ver. else I think this is but like a death bed Repentance, or Composition with God for misimploying the tallant he had intrusted them with in theire life time; for I find in the 25 Matt. the questions that will be asked at the day of Judgement is not what we left to Charitable uses at our death, But how we imployed the Talant God intrusted us with in our life time, vizt. to feede the hungry, Cloath the naked, visit the sicke, take in the Strainger, &c.

Sumes left to Hospitals or Almes Houses.

Some are so vaine as to call voluptious house keeping of rich men Charity, as in feeding theire poore Servants, which according to the English proverb, is breeding them up from young serving men to become old beggars, for then theire masters Charity in feeding of them ceaseth, (when the poore servants have most neede) when the strength of theire youth is gone; this way of Charity I

Is voluptious house keeping Charity?

take rather to be to shew theire magnificent pompe & greatnesse, & may we not Conclude that Dives or the Rich man in Luke did the same Charity, for doubtlesse he had many servants to weight one him at his voluptious table &c.

Job's answer. And we find that Job in his affliction looked backe one the Charity he had done in times past, for comfort, not in what he intended to doe at or after Death Chap. 29 'the Blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, & I caused the Widows heart to sing for Joy' &c., And Chap. 31 'he eate not his morsell alone but the Fatherlesse eate thareof, & the poore were Clothed with the fleece of his sheepe,' & manysuch like good works of his are noted in Scripture Certainely for our instruction & imitation. I doe not remember any Charity Recorded in the holy Scriptures done at or after death, unlesse Davids provision for the building of the Temple, which he was forbid by God to build in his life time, else he would have built it.

Folio 116/114. *Releaving of the poore in Ceylon.* The Heathen Pagans one Ceylone account releaving of the poore so well pleasing to God, that tho they have none of theire owne nation that begg thare (onely those that are Condemned in former Reignes so to doe as in fo. 70, 71) for all releave those of theire owne families, thare are strangers that come from beyound the Seas one purpose to begg & theire argument they use to obtaine Charity from the people is (Pin poroond) that is to give them the happie opertunity to be Charitable which the people never refuse to doe; But I have often seene the beggar will scarce stay tell they come out to give them, & then they will follow him with theire Charity as if it were the beggers just due, which they dare not Detaine.

They have a Custome (sometimes used) that the friends of the Dececed will invite a Terinancie, that is a Priest of the highest order, to theire houses & all night he sings & prayes matters of Religion & in the morning they give him all sorts of nesesaries for this life, Beleeving (they say) that according to theire liberality to the Preist theire Dececed friend shall receive in the other world fo. 74:

these heathen are very Compationate to indigent people of what nation or Religion soever & theire Common or usuall saying in such a case is (Omma gea Durria) he was a Mothers Child,

These my thoughts or notions I have writen for my owne use that they may make the deeper impression in my owne mind, Ro. Knox.

I thinke fitt to incert this following Clause, vizt. that when I sold the Coppie of this Booke to Mr. Rich. Chiswell, Senr., I gave him my Bond that neither my selfe nor any for me should ever reprint the same,

Robt. Knox.

Folio 117/115.

A view of the dark Hemisphere.

What a vaine sort of thing would this world appeare if a man should in imagination transport himselfe one a Cloude to have a view of the darke Hemisphere when the Sun hath left shining one the earth, & so to follow in view of the darke side of the earth, to see how all nations lay stript of theire Bravery sleeping, & as truly dead for that time as to the use of theire 5 sences, as when dead in theire graves. King Saul tho with his guards aboute him, had not the lest power left him, But David could as well have taken away his head as the skirt of his robe, & after that his speare & waterpott, and thus it is with all the Nations of the earth throughout all Ages, that our fraile bodies cannot subsist one Naturall day in the greatest flourishing stringth without laying as dead after this manner for almost as longe time as we are waking ; & all that while the Prince or Nobleman (Generaly) doth not injoy that sweete & quiett repose, tho in a silken Bed (which represents but his Coffin) being full of turmileing thoughts & Cares, which prevents his quiett sleepe, as the poore man injoyes, tho he layes perhaps but one the ground ;

My owne experience hath taught mee this, in my passage through the Course of my life by the Vicistitude of times that have gone over mee ; And the earth one which we Walke & lay one at length swalloweth us all up as it hath all nations that have bin before us, & shall doe all

that comes after. These Contemplations pleased me, when I thinke my time heere can be but short, & this World so vaine, that all the time I have spent heere when I review it is but like yesternights dreame, & the rest hereafter can be no better for the soule came from God & must goe to God & nothing can satisfie it but God.

And of the light sunshine. Let a man from the same imaginary Station take a view of the light sunshine Hemisphere whare all the inhabitance are wakeing & in action it would appeare more vaine then the other to see the nations turmoileing themselves to little or noe purpose, & commonly before they have finished theire intended project An iresistable messinger from Death snatcheth them away, as we see dayly & at length none escapes ; neither doth Death make any difference or exception betweene the degrees of quality & dignity that men make, from the King one the Throne to the Beggar that layeth at his doore, but as they were made of the same Dust of the earth to the same they shall returne, Children like the other younge irrationall creatures skiping & playing to noe purpose, & when grown bigger must follow painefull or industerous labours to gitt a living of which thare is no end tell Death, except those who are borne to spend what theire Ancestors had gotten, & how vaine & foole like (too often) doe they Consume boath it & precious time Riding in troopes with packs of dogs to Catch a poore fox or hare & wasting the rest in voluptious gluttony & drinking to out vie each other, & impaire theire owne health, or else in gameing, & thus is time Consumed, the only thing, Seneca sayeth, of which wee ought to be Covetuous.

Folio 118/116.

Seneca's wise saying.

And the highest ranke of Human Mortalls are so swelled with pride & Ambition that they envie all above themselves & contemn & despise all that are below them, & for this cause the inhabitance of the world are continually ingaged in Bloody warres, all sides pretending equity & justice or at best to keepe the Ballance betweene nations even, & thus mankind destroy one the other, & come to untimely ends, which is not done by the beasts,

who onely devour the other for food as God hath appointed; & in all places you may behold & heare the tears & groanes of such as are opressed by men in power, as Soloman notes, & they have no Comforter.

Vanity of Vanities.

From hence I infire that this is a more vaine & dismall prospect then the other darke side of the earth, whare all lay quiet a sleepe, & therefore lesse sinn Committed. I shall add one thought more, that if a poore mortall weare admitted thus to have a full view of the whole globe of the earth he could not wish himselfe upone it, but one the Contrary, thinke it the happinesse of the inhabitance that theire time of stay thare is so short & not for everlasting.

Folio 119/117.

In the 33 Chap: of Exodus Moses Beseeched God to shew him his glory, & was answered that God would make all his goodnesse passe before him & proclaime the name of the Lord, which was all that Mortalle breathing Dust was capable to know of God for no man can see him & live.

An argument how God discovers himselfe to mortalls.

In the next Chapter the Lord descended in the Clouds & the Lord passed by before him, & Proclaimed, vizt., 'the Lord, the Lord God Mercifull & gracious, longe suffering & aboundant in goodnesse & truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiveing iniquity & transgression & sin & that will by no meanes Cleare the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the Children, & upon the Children Children, unto the third & to the fourth generation,' whare the great God declares & proclaimes himselfe in so patheticall expressions to his Creatures as Containes all that is fitt for mortalls to know of theire Creator; & the whole Scriptures are full of proclaiming his mercy, Isaiah the 64 Chap. 1 & 2 ver. 'thus sayeth the Lord heaven is my throne & the earth is my foot stoole, whare is the house that yee build unto me, & whare is the place of my rest . . . but to this man will I looke, even to him that is poore & of a Contrite spiritt, & trembleth at my word,' & in the 102 psalme & 19, 'he hath looked downe from the height of his Sanctuary, from heaven did the

Lord behold the earth' (note to what end) vizt., 'to heare the groning of the prisoners, to loose those that are appointed to death'; & in the 57 Isaiah 15 'thus sayeth the high & lofty one, that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy, I dwell in the high & holy place with him also that is of a Contrite & humble spiritt' &c., & in the 136 psalme 26 times it is said that his mercy endureth for ever.

By these and many more texts of Scripture it seemes to my poore & darke understanding that the plaineth Disscovery the Almight God hath given us small Crumbs of breathing dust & Ashes of himselfe is a manefestation of his goodnesse; & that excelent booke the old practice of Piety which God gave to be with me (with the holy bible) in my Ceylone Captivity, Concluds what he had writen of God, vizt., That unity in Trinity & trinity in unity is a holy Mistery rather to be Adored by faith then Curiously searched by reason.

Folio 120/118. And who those are that are excepted in this Proclamaion vizt., that will by no meanes Cleane the guilty,—&c., which in the 2nd. Commandment he calles 'them that hate me,' to my meane & poore Capassity, is fuly explained in these places of the holy Scripture following Deutro. the 29 Chap. & 19, 20, 21 ver. 'when he heareth the words of this Curse, that he blesse himselfe in his heart saying, I shall have peace, though I walke in the imagination of my heart, to add drunkennesse to thirst, the Lord will not spare him, but then the Anger of the Lord, & his Jealousie shall smoake against that man, & all the Curses that are writen in this booke shall lay upon him, & the Lord shall blott out his name from under heaven'—Note a most dreadfull sentence.

Ezekiell the 18 Chap. read all—the last verse, 'I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth sayeth the Lord God Wherefore turne yourselves & live,' & in the 33 Chap. & 11 verse, how doth the Lord the most high God posesser of heaven & earth, Condesend, if I may with reverence say to poore mortalls, to Confirme his owne free

promise by his Oath, vizt., 'Say unto them As I live sayeth the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the Wicked, but that the Wicked turne from his way & live, turne yee, turne yee from your eviell wayes for why will yee die O house of Israell'; which Mr. Baxter noteth, that turne & Live, is as true as turne or die, & in his family booke fo. 353 nothing can make us reasonably feare wheather God will save or damn our Soules, but unpardoned sin, & the Mercy of God is so greate & his promise so sure, that nothing can reasonably make us doubt of pardon, but that which makes us doubt of the Sincerity of our repentance & faith in Christ, for true repentance hath the promise of forgivenesse & appears in the following Scriptures, which I write for my owne Consolation, Judges the 10 when Israell had forsaken theire God, & ware in great distresse, they cryed unto the Lord theire God for helpe, he sendeth them to the Gods they had served saying 'Wherefore I will deliver you no more,' Note the 16 verse, they no sooner repented & served the Lord, but his Soule was grieved for the misery of Israell, & gave them a full deliverance, with great advantage over theire enimies.

God has noe pleasure in the death of the wicked.

I further note in the 21 Chap of the 1 Kings. After God had pronounced his sentence against Ahab, who had sold himselfe to worke wikednesse in the sight of the Lord, yet notwithstanding, in the 27 ver. upon the outward signe of repentance, for feare of the punishments marke the 29 ver. (because) 'he humbled himselfe before me I will not bring the eviell in his dayes,' may we not from hence infire, had he bin a true and unfaigned pennitent, God would not onely Defered the Judgment but quite turned it away,

Repentance averteth Judgment.

As we read in Jonah, where the sentence of a totall destruction was denounced against Nineveh, & the time sett 40 dayes, yet upon theire unfeigned repentance, as appeares in the 3 Chap. & 10 ver. & 'God saw theire workes, vizt., that they turned from theire eviell wayes, God repented of the eviell that he had said he would doe

Folio 121/119.

unto them, and he did it not'; in so much that Jonah upbraided God with his mercy which made him flee to Tarshish 'for I knew thou art a gracious God & Mercifull, slow to anger, & of great Kindnesse, & repentest the of the eviell'; this is according to his owne proclamation of himselfe in the 34 Exodus, whareas the gods the heathen worship, are dreadfull & terrible to them as mine eyes have seene in as much that they account us happie that have the Lord for our God, & suffereth not theire gods to hurt or have power over us.

A foolish fashion.

Tis now the fashion to call all our victories & Campanes glorious, & Generalls for theire Conduct, & souldiers for their Courage, glorious, & all the addresses presented to the Queene, are fulsomely full of glorious expressions or flatteries. I well remember in one (from the Lieutenancy of London) after our totall defeate in the battell at Almansa in Spaine, vizt., Since divine providence seemes to give a Checke to the glory of your Majesties undertakings (they) desire her to dubble her eforts & not to give over tell King Charles is settled one the throne of Spaine. In the pulpets when they proclaime our glorious victories, asscribe it to second Causes as Conduct of Generalls, & Courage of souldiers, & since I know no word higher then Glory to be used in that sence makes mee thinke Glory is too high & great to be given to Creatures, or humane Actions, but is an Attribute due onely to God himselfe, from whome we poore Mortalls receive our breath & being.

Glory ascribed to second causes.

I find nothing like this in the old Testament, but all victoryes & glory is asscribed to God alone, Psalme 44 & 3 Note, 'they gott not the land in posession by theire owne sword neither did theire owne arme save them, but thy right hand & thine arme' & no mention made of humane Conduct nor Courage, & in the 9 Chapt. Jerimiah 23, 24, ver. gloring is forbidden, 'thus sayeth the Lord, lett not the wise man glory in his wisedome, nor the mighty man glory in his might nor the Rich man glory in his Riches, But let him that glorieth glory in this that he under-

But cometh onely from God.

Folio 122/120.

standeth & knoweth mee, that I am the Lord' &c. And I note in the 10 Isaiah, where the King of Assiria boastingly said 'by the strength of my hand have I done it, & by my wisedome for I am prudent,' &c., I note the 15 ver. 'shall the Ax boast itselfe against him that heweth tharewith, or the saw magnifie itselfe against him that shaketh it, as if the Rod should shake itselfe against them that lift it up, or as if the stafe should lift up itselfe as if it were no wood,' read the whole Chap. The saying of the Reverent Mr. Baxter Noted in his finerall sermone fo. 125 is very exelent to this purpose, when a friend mentioned (to Comfort him) the good many had received by his preaching & writing, he answered, I was but a pen in Gods hand & what praise is due to a pen.

Mr. Baxter's exelent saying.

The dilligent Consideration of the 7 Chap. of Judges, & the 18 Chap. of 2 Kings Confirmeth my opinion, that no glory is due to Second Causes, as human Conduct, & Courage, which God doth not alwayes use in deliverances, for it was an Angel God sent to save Hezekiah, & slew in one night a hundred & eighty five thousand; & in the Conclution of that prayer our Saviour Christ hath taught us, Vizt., that the Kingdome & the power, & the Glory belongeth onely to God for ever Amen.

I find God did not allow his people the Jews, in time of Warr, to make Alliances with theire Neighbour nations, 2 Chron, 17 Chap. Asa was sharply reprooved by the prophet Hannani for takeing aid of Benhadad verse the 7 calling it a relying one him, & forsakeing the Lord his God, & in the 8 ver. upbraideth him with the late victory God had given him (when he had no Allies) over the Ethiopians &c., Because he relied onely one the Lord he delivered them into his hand.

Jews not allowed to make Alliances.

And how neere was King Jehoshapat to have bin destroyed by Joyning in Alliance with Ahab, 2 Chro. 18 & 31 ver. that he was faint to Cry to heaven, & the Lord helped him (not his Allie) & god mooved them to depart from him, & in the 19 Chap. 2 ver. marke the Prophets salutation to him at his returne home, vizt.

King Jehoshaphat and King Ahab.

And Jehu the sonn of Hanani the seere went out to meeet him, & said to King Jehoshapat, shoulds thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord, (tharefore) is wrath upon the from before the Lord,' & in the 20 Chap. he made no alliances, when the Amonites, Moabites, & Mount Seire cam in Confederacy against him,

Folio 123/121. (Note) Jehoshaphat feared and set himselfe to seeke the Lord, & proclaimed a fast throughout all Judah, ver. 4 'Judah gathered themselves togeather to aske helpe of the Lord, even out of all the Cities of Judah, they came to seeke the Lord,' and ver. 12 they confessed they had no might against that great Army, that came against them, neither knew what to doe, but theire hope for help was onely one the Lord, (they had lately found the vanity of humane Alliances in Ahabs time).

Note neither Conduct nor Courage was made use of ver. 22. 23 but God broake the Alliance of theire enimies, & made them destroy one the other, & saved his people who trusted onely one him: yet after this Jehoshaphat did make an Alliance againe in trade, with Ahaziah who did very wickedly; but marke the event, ver. 37, God by his prophet told him, 'Because thou hath joyned thyselfe with Ahaziah, the Lord hath broken thy workes' (lest he should have thought it was but a Chance) & the ships were Cast away.

King Jehoshaphat and King Ahaziah.

Chroni. the 2 & 25 this Chap. hath taken up many of my thoughts, King Amaziah notwithstanding he had an Army of three hundred thousand, Choice Vittera troopes thought fit to augment his Army, not by alliances, but by hireing forreigne Souldiers, & those not of his heathen Neighbours, but of theire bretheren the Israellites; & hired one hundred thousand mighty men of valour, which shewed that his chiefe dependance was in a numerous Army of well disciplined troopes (forgitting what God had said in Psalme 33 & 16 'thare is no King saved by the multitude of an host, & a mighty man is not delivered by much strength' (how then) ver. 18 'Behold the eye of

King Amaziah.

the Lord is upon them that feare him, upon them that hope in his Mercy.'

At this God sent a prophet to admonish the King, that the army he had hired (tho mighty men of valour) Gods Blessing not goeing with them, would bring a Curse into his army, for God hath power to helpe & to Cast downe, ver. 10 Amaziah followed the prophets advice tho he lost his mony, yet God gave him victory, with out his mercinary souldiers. But did he not beleeve or at lest doubted, wheather his enimies gods had not a helping hand thare in, else he would not have worshiped them, which so provoked the Almighty God for the vindication of his owne Glory, afterwards to disstroy this Conquerer, as we see in the same Chapter.

Amaziah triumphs without mercenaries.

If these precepts was onely a Law or Rule, binding to the Jewish nation then all other nations are at liberty in case of War or dainger, to seeke for & confide in human assistance, & not be called a forsakeing of the Lord, as to them it was imputed to be; & if so how doth this agree with Rom. 15 & 4 ver. 'whatsoever things were written affore time were written for our learning.' & 1 Corin. 10 & 11 ver. 'now all these things hapned unto them for ensamples, & they are written for our admonition upon whome the ends of the World are come.'

Folio 124/122.

But to give praise & Glory to tooles or Second Causes which how great soever, which are but as the Ax or saw in his hands, is like those in Habakkuk who 'sacrafice to their nett & burne Incence to theire Drag because by them theire portion is fatt & theire meate plentious.'

I observe that often times when the neighboring nations made war with the Israelites, they offered them Conditions of peace, which the Israelites dislikeing rejected Choosing rather a defencive war, & leave the desition to the Justice of God, who did maintaine theire Just cause. In the 11 Chap. of Judges the Amonites made war against Israelle, & it seemed to be one a Just cause, by theire Demands, which was to restore those lands peaceably Israelle had taken from them 300 yeares before

The Israelites choose defensive Wars.

Jephthah. when they came out of Egypt: at this Jephthath whome they had then Chosen to be head & Captaine, began to Cearch theire title, which was not by Conquest, but they derived it from the guieft of the Lord of all the earth, as appeares by Jephthaths answer, ver. 23 & 24, 'so now the Lord god of Israell hath disposessed the Amorites from before his people Israell, & shouldest thou posesesse it so whomesoever the Lord our God shall drive out from before us, them will we posesse,' for God hardned the hearts of Sihon & Og to begin the war with Israell (which made theires a defencive war) that he might deliver them into theire hands ver. 27 & appealed to God the 'Lord the Judge be Judge this day betweene Israell & Ammon' & God gave his people Israell victory—20 Cites more.

Nahash the Amonite. The next was I Sam. 11 Chap. whare Nahash the Amonite began War with Israell, whome they offered to serve one reasonable termes, but his demands was exorbitant, to put out all the right eyes of the Israelites, as a reproach one them; here also Israells was a defencive war, of which God made 2 uses, first to advance Saul, the new King, & the other to deliver the Amonites into the hand of Israell, boath which he brought to passe efectually, & tho Saul had an Army of three hundred thousand men, yet in the 13 ver. he attributes nothing either to Conduct (tho he used a Stratagem) nor courage, But sayeth the Lord hath wrought Salvation in Israell.

Folio 125/123.

Since Ahab offered Benhadad his Wives & Children & his silver & his gold I have asked a learned Jew what Benhadad could demand more then Ahab had granted, he told me it was the 5 Bookes of Moses.

Then in 1 Kings 20 Chap. Benhadad King of Syria with an Alliance of 32 Kings, began War with Israell & besieged Samaria, & sent a preliminary Article to Ahab vizt. to demand his silver & his gold, & his wives & his Children, which Ahab granted. I sopose he Considered the greatnesse of the enimies strength, with his Alliance of 32 Kings, & the small force he had to resist him, as we see afterwards; next followed the maine Article to which he must submitt, or no peace, to which the former was but preliminary, ver. 6 'I will send my servants to thee tomorrow aboute this time & they shall search thine house, & the houses of thy servants, & whatsoever is

pleasant in thine eyes they shall carry a way with them.'

At this Ahab Consulted with his Councill & layd before them the Concessions he had made, to deliver his wives & Children his silver & his gold, but the latter Article by theire advice he rejected, Certainely they all had some hopes one the Justice of God, one theire Just defensive war because theire humane strength was so small, by Ahabs second Answer vizt. 'let not him that puttest one his harnesse boast himselfe as he that puttest it off,' whare as on the Contrary Benhadads dependance was in his great Army, not doubting of victory, by his Charge in the 18 ver. to his Commanders vizt. 'wheather they come out for peace, take them alive, or wheather they come out for war, take them alive,' Ahabs whole Army then being but 7232 men, of which according to human reason they had no cause to be afraid.

Benhadad and Ahab.

Here I observe that 2 wicked Kings are goeing to war, Benhadad a man whome God had ordained to utter Destruction ver. 42—& Ahab 1 Kings 21 Chap. 20 & 25 ver. which did sell himselfe to worke wikednesse in the sight of the Lord, yet God sent a prophett to Ahab, with a promise of victory saying, 'hath thou seene this great Multitude, Behold I will deliver it into thine hand this day, & thou shalt know that I am the Lord,' which God performed, yet we read this signall deliverance did not reclaime Ahab from his Idollitry, by the following Chap. whilest Benhadad ver. 23 saw it was the hand of God, onely believed he was God of the hills & not of the plaines, therefore he would try another battell thare, whare God manifested his Glory & power, & prooved himselfe Lord of the whole earth, & gave Ahab a greater victory (with a small Army like 2 little flocks of Kids) then before, for Israell slew of the Syrians one hundred thousand men.

Folio 126/124.

Ahab not converted.

Yet these 2 Miraculous victories which God gave Ahab & shewed the greatnesse of his power & Glory (which Convinced Benhadad) did not Convert him to leave of his Idolitry, by what we read in the 2 following

Chapters, where by advice of his Councill, he entred into an ofencive War one pretence of a Just cause : 'know ye that Ramouth in Gilead is ours, & we be still, & take it not out of the hand of the King of Syria' ; (his heart was puft up with his former victories) & tooke King Jehoshapat as an Allye which God used as the meanes of his destruction, by puting a lying spirit into the mouths of four hundred of his falce prophets ; yet God was so merciful to this Idolitrous King, as to forewarne him of his destruction, by his prophet Micaiah, which neither he, nor King Jehoshapat beleeved, else surely they would not have proceeded in that war, which had like to have destroyed Jehoshapat for Joyning with him, as well as Ahab. Note how the prophet of the Lord was used by Ahab when he adjured him in the name of the Lord to tel him nothing but the truth, ver. 27, 'put this fellow in prison & feed him with bread of affliction, & water of affliction, tell I come in peace.'

Sinnacherib. To these I must Joyne the blasphemous boaster Sinnacherib King 1, 2 & 19 Chap. the Scriptures sheweth us fower great haughty Boasters, who trusted in theire great humane strength, all overthrown by those they despised, according to proverbs 16 Chap. 18 ver. 'pride goeth before Destruction, & a haughty Spiritt before a fall,' & 18 Chap. 12 ver. 'before destruction the heart of man is haughty.'

The Author's indifference. These Notions & Contemplations I have scribled one my owne paper, for my owne use, & to please myselfe, & wheather hereafter they are ever or never read by any one it is equially the same to me, as to a dead beast what use his skine is put to, wheather to make a Muffe or a Ruffe for Ladyes necks or made into shooes, or a pare of Bellows, or a cover for a Bible ; for when the Soule is departed hence into the everlasting state, what matters it what the inhabitance of the earth, who are but small Crumbs of breathing dust, say or thinke of him, as in some Countries those are Cannonised for saints & Martyers, who were hanged, quartered, or burnt for

heriticks & traytors in other Countreys, as my eyes have seene, which can no more Reach them then the smoake of our Chimnies can the Starry firemement.

In my Reading the old Testament I observe that many severe Judgements befell the whole Nation of the Israelites for the particular sins of theire owne Kings, in which I doe not find that the people were in any wise guilty. Folio 127/125. *Nations punished for their Kings sins.*

First I begine with King Saul: 2 Samll 21 Chap: (where Saul in his zeale slew the Gibeonites, to whome Josuah & the Princes of Israell had sworn by the Lord God of Israell to let them live). Josuah 9 Chap: which tho this League was obtained by fraud, yet God was Angry for breakeing it (as he was with King Zedekiah. Ezekiel 17 Chap (read the whole Chap) & 3 yeares famine fell upon the whole nation of Israel, And nothing lesse could expiate Gods anger & remoove the Judgment but hanging 7 of the Royall family which King David granted: & was done accordingly ver 14 & after that God was intreated for the Land. *Saul.*

The next was 2 Samll 24 Chap & 1 Chro: 21 Chap. King David numbring the people which in boath the forementioned places David owned to be his owne sin, & Cleared the people viz^{t}. 'I have sinned, & I have done wickedly, but these sheepe what have they done,' & againe 1 Chro: 21 Chap & 17 ver: he repeateth it againe, 'is it not I that Commanded the people to be numbred, even I it is that have sinned, & done eviell in deede; but as for these Sheepe, what have they done,' we find thare that Joab told the King it would be a cause of trespasse to Israel, & that it was abominable to him, that he left out 2 tribes. Levi & Benjamen in numbring, notwithstanding the Kings word prevailed against Joab & against the Captaines of the host that they went unwillingly when they could not deswade the King from it, & upon this we read followed a pestilence that carried away twenty thousand men. *David.*

Next is King Manaseh: 2 King 21 Chap: & 2 Chro: 33 Chap he seduced Israell to doe more eviell then did *Manaseh.*

the nation whome the Lord destroyed before them, & made Judah to sin in doeing that which was eviell in the sight of the Lord, moreover he shed inocent Blood very much tell he had filled Jerusalem from one end to the other, these were his owne Acts & not the peoples for he forced them.

May we not Justly sopose that this Inocent blood he shed was of those that Desented & would not conforme to his Idolitrious worship, which he either did or would have made the Nationall religion & established it by Law & whose soules lay under the Alter: Revel: 6 & 10 'Crying with a loud voice how longe O lord holy & true doth thou not Judge & avenge our blood one them that dwell one the earth' & note Gods Answer in the 11 ver that they should rest for a little season untill theire fellow servants also & theire Bretheren that should be killed as they were should be fulfilled, let us marke the Severe Judgements that God brought upon the whole land for Manaseh's sins, tho in the reigne of King Jehoiakim neere 100 yeares after: 2 Kings 24 Chap 3 & 4 vers surely at the Commandment of the Lord came this upon Judah to remoove them out of his sight for the sins of Manaseh according to all that he did And for the inocent blood that he shed for he filled Jerusalem with inocent blood which the Lord would not pardon, & the whole land was destroyed & led into Captivity.

Folio 128/126.

Josiah. The next I must mention the good King Josiah, 2 Kings 23 & 2 Chro: 35 Chap that turned to the Lord with all his heart & with alle his soule & with all his might neither after him arose thare any like him: notwithstanding the Lord turned not from the fercenesse of his great wrath, be cause of all the provocations that Manasseth had provoked him withall, 2 Kings 23 Chap: 25: 26 ver: 2 Chro: 35 & 20: & after King Josiah had prepared the Temple; yet for his ingageing in an unjust & ofencive War against the King of Egypt ver 21: 22 & hearkened not to the words of Necho (wheather he beleeved him not) from the mouth of God he was slaine in the battell,

& the whole land layde under Contribution, tell King Nebuchadnezzer made a totall conquest of the whole Land, & Captivated the people.

Whareas I cannot find in the Scriptures that any of the Kings of Israell or Judah suffered onely for the sins of theire people wherein they themselves were not guilty unlesse Eli who was a Prince as well as a priest, who tho he did admonish & Deswade his sonns yet because he restrained them not therefore Gods Judgement fell one him for we read of no other sin in Eli, 1 Saml 2 & 3 Chap. *Kings not punished for the Sins of their people.*

I shall Conclude with those Sacred Poems of the Reverent George Herbert fo. 140 which are so agreeable to me boath in heart & soule, viz^{t} :—

Thou hath granted my Request,
Thou hath heard me,
Thou didst note my Workeing breast,
Thou hath spard me.
Wherefore with my utmost art
I will sing thee,
And the Crown of all my heart
I will bring thee,
Though my sins against me Cryed,
Thou didst Cleare me,
And alone when they replyed,
Thou didst heare me,
Seven whole days, not one in seven,
I will praise thee,
In my heart, though not in heaven,
I can raise thee,

Herbert fo: 140—

Anno 1709. Robt: Knox

Certaine Passages I would Keepe in Memory.

Anno 1660 Aprill 4th I came one Shore at Cattior one Zelone when & whare I was Detained Captive— Folio 129/127.

Ditto the 10th My father came one Shore thare & was detained—Ditto 11th the Long boate came one Shore & was detained also.

The 2nd Febrowary my father died $16\frac{60}{61}$.

1664 Sept 16th I received letters from England, & never more.

1670 October 22th my true friend John Loveland died.

1679 Sept the 22th I sett out from my house in order to make escape & the 12th Octobr I entred the uninhabited woods & the 18 Ditto Arived safe with the Duch at Arepa fort, the 19th October Came from Arepa to Mannar & the 2th Novr Departed thence (by Sea) for Colomba & the 4th Ditto Arived there, & the 24th Ditto sayled thence for Batavia in ship Middleburgh & Arived thare the 5th January. The 4 Feb I came from Batavia to Bantam, & the 24th Ditto sayled thence for England, $16\frac{79}{80}$

October the 2th Anno 1672: Janua: the 26th Anno $167\frac{5}{6}$: May the 13th Anno 1679.

By the Church booke in Nacton in the County of Suffolke neere Ipswich, I find that my Grandfather was borne thare, in Anno 1581, & my father was borne thare also, & Baptised the 15th March 1606

By Mee

Robt Knox

FINIS

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A NEW MAP of the Kingdom of CANDY UDA. in the Island of CEYLON.

Note, all the Land inclosed in the large pricked line, is under the Iuridiction of the King of Candy Uda. All without that Line except Coylot Wanee's Country, mentioned in this Map, in which the Malabars live, belong to the Dutch.

× *Places where the Watches are kept.*

The way of the Authors escape.

North

South

East

West

PANOVA REGNUM.

BATTACALOW REGNUM.

COTIARUM REGNUM.

TAMMANQUAD

VELLAS.

BINTANA.

OUVAH.

MATU: RA

JAELE PROVIN: CIA.

PAUNOA

Leawava

Batticalow

Fort BATTACALOW

Cotiarum

Trinkimaly

Nilaga

Vellas

Pegama

Badoula

Yotta kinde

Maunda kinde

Bombragom

Dombaheng

Bogoodagh

Ouda

Tenjutte

Parnegom kinde

Fottipol

Condepol

Pasara

Gerrewery of Eliphants vangh plaets

Kardekoes bay

Gyndevande Caneel landen

Galhettes

Dondere

Dolles das Corla.

Matura

Tenewara

Tenewara

Billigamme

Billigamme Corla

Gochola

Point de Galle

Walalwitte Corla

Pasdom Corla.

Raygam Corla.

Ettal gos Henn

Catoene

HABARAG OM

Hackman

Barlepannentotte

Dennemoene

Lackwelle

Agras

Acuras

Maplegam

Sinadume

Gitergodde

Gannegamme

Rackwelle

Pennegal

Narrigal

Udware

Toboene

Pittigall

Polande

Angurakotte

Cota

Bellangotte

QUATRE CORLA.

Sapita Corle

Negombo

Madampe

Putelan

Palavi

Calpentyn

Condremale

Manaur

Bakenburg

Middelburgh

Piscale

Amsterdam

Delft

Paliccura

Sette coulang

Peringale

Nanatan

Mantotte

Mousilipatte

Ouregarepatte

Carrem wepatte

Mepatte

Ponery

Wanees Contrey

Coylot Moelea wilpatte

Carrecatte moele

Thundecoulen

Patte

Tinnimar willepatte

Mauvillegongah

Allout neur

Mondama nuve

Mautaly

Bominegam

Hurtelgh

Maumine

Torroway ave

Lobboneur

Noure Calava.

Nicovary

Eredenne

Dempitigall

Porooagh

Nicotiticum

Cornagall

Haubaje

Tembratowya

Anurodgburro

Cobula

Conn. paya

Dua paya

Ekpot

Hollmillawayah

Hoorogas mawah

Honapoolo

Dollpatta

Gun

Hot: COURLY.

Golbaddagom

Mondon dumpe

Golgom

Carrin de Coduatt

Maugol COURLY

Hanbolongam weya

Malwat weya

Caulu weya

Kaluwelle

Ranbodagal

Cornagall

Haubaje

Crollead Ponci Pot.

Dom Berah

Horsepot

Walgom

Yattanour.

Tunpon Ahoy

Hevoi

Hattay.

Cote: Mul.

Candy Deltote

Eudanewr.

Ouda Pollot.

Collegomonah

Hanna Pondoun

Hottera Courle.

Billgol Courle

Orrondary

Tuncourly

Pittigal

Xettang

Corle totte

Raygam watte

Chilaw

R. Chilaw

Arreyolondaue

Sout pannen

Anevoloudaue

Mantotte

Paul bandeyn van Manaur

Adams trough

Caretive

Kilpeny

Manipe

Manaar

Columbo

Mootwall

Caymelle

Pearl Bank

Condatte Coast

Bamborough

Coste mull

Mosprony

Wallaponahoy

Godnapo:

Nanoy

Corruponole

Amboldd

Bellonneyen

Gaulcuda

Deglygy neur

Poole pitte

Newer tilla

Dimmulla

Maulwella

Kombalwella

Nillomb

Morrbe

Adams peke

Tabrawa

Barbarin

Alicancelle

Poetreton

Warranni

Ysembiampatte

Illond matua

Ambon

Calculang

Cotzvelle

Tonde manaer

Iaffanpatan

Mayletti

Telipole

Pulwaglis

Mampay

Botocotta

Hammenhiel

Dona Clara

Brammines

Telli manaer

Middelburgh

Piscale

Bakenburg

Manaur

Coral Island

Eickhuysen Hoorn

Paliccura

Sette coulang